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UNIVERSALISM IN AMERICA.

A HISTORY.

BY

RICHARD EDDY, D.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSALIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY; MEMBER, AND LATE LIBRARIAN, OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA; AND MEMBER OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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TO

THOMAS J. SAWYER, S.T.D.,

FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY THE SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN
OF THE UNIVERSALIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY;
THE ABLE THEOLOGIAN, AND FAITHFUL TEACHER AND MINISTER,
WHOSE INFLUENCE IN SHAPING THE THOUGHT OF THE
UNIVERSALIST CHURCH FAR EXCEEDS THAT
OF ANY OTHER LIVING MAN,

This Volume is Dedicated

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

ANNOUNCEMENT was made in the Preface to the first volume of this work that the volume now in the hand of the reader would contain chapters on several topics which it has been found impracticable to notice at any length. Periodical literature and hymnology are mentioned only in the Bibliography, and Sunday-schools receive but a brief notice. Material for these topics and for more full details in regard to the general history has not been deficient, but limited space has compelled many omissions.

Yielding to the suggestions of those who have had much experience in book-making, the author has restricted his work to two volumes, and this has necessitated his making a choice of what portion of the History he should treat in detail, and what portion should receive only general mention. He chose, therefore, to give the most full account of the period prior to the issue of Universalist periodicals, knowing that all the sources of his information concerning this period were accessible to a few, and that many of them were found by him in documents already worn by age, and liable to be lost or destroyed.

He is aware that this has necessitated his passing over in entire silence, or mentioning but briefly, events

that have been significant in the progress of the Universalist Church, and also eminent men and women, who, by their pen and voice, their great abilities, and their unwearied zeal, have left their impress on Universalist thought and life. The unavoidableness of this has caused him much regret, but his conviction that the record is in a measure made upon other pages and is accessible to readers of Universalist periodicals and the more general literature of the Church, in large degree compensates him for his disappointment in being unable to say what it was in his heart to say on the following pages.

Grateful for the favor with which the former volume was received, the author trusts that the completed work may be acceptable to his brethren in the faith it is his happiness to cherish and his great ambition to worthily commend to others. As he now appends the date to these words, he realizes that full thirty years have passed away since he began to collect the material which should enable him to record this history. Gratitude to God that health and strength have been bestowed upon him, and that he now presents his completed work to the reader, is the sincere feeling of his heart.

RICHARD EDDY.

Melrose, Mass., September, 1886.

CONTENTS.

		Page
Chapter I.	1801–1805	1–104
" II.	1806–1814	105–169
" III.	1815–1820	170–259
" IV.	The Restorationist Controversy, 1817–1841	260–342
" V.	1821–1886	343–409
" VI.	Education, 1814–1886	410–482

Bibliography	483–599
Index to the Bibliography	601–611
Index to the History	613–634

UNIVERSALISM IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

1801–1805.

UNIVERSALISM IN GEORGIA. — REV. PHILIP GIBBS. — REV. ISAAC EILANDS. — REVS. JOHN AND THOMAS MITCHELL. — THE SOCIETY OF UNITED CHRISTIAN FRIENDS. — THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 1801. — THOMAS JEFFERSON'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS. — THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION, 1801. — MINISTERS ORDAINED AND FELLOWSHIPPED. — MINISTERS IN FELLOWSHIP. — REV. WILLIAM THOMAS. — REV. CORNELIUS G. PERSON. — REV. SAMUEL SMITH. — TREASURERS OF THE CONVENTION. — REVS. ELIAS AND RICHARD R. SMITH. — THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 1802. — CHURCH IN NEW BRITAIN, PENN. — THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION, 1802. — MONUMENT TO REV. ELHANAN WINCHESTER. — REV. ISAAC ROOT. — REV. JAMES FOSTER. — REV. SAMUEL HILLIARD. — REV. JOHN COFFIN. — THE CASE OF CHRISTOPHER ERSKINE. — SOCIETY IN BOSCAWEN, N. H. — REV. JOHN FOSTER IN NEW YORK. — "THE BEREAN." — UNIVERSALISTS IN CENTRAL NEW YORK. — REV. EDWIN FERRISS AT BUTTERNUTS, N. Y. — SOCIETY ORGANIZED AT HARTWICK, N. Y. — THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 1803. — THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION, 1803. — REV. NATHANIEL STACY. — REV. ABNER KNEELAND. — THE WINCHESTER PROFESSION OF BELIEF. — PLAN OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION. — STANDING CLERKS OF THE CONVENTION. — THE NORTHERN ASSOCIATION. — THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION, 1804, CHANGES ITS TITLE TO "THE GENERAL CONVENTION," ETC. — REV. H. BALLOU'S NOTES ON THE PARABLES. — THOMAS DOBSON AND HIS "LETTERS." — THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 1805. — REV. TIMOTHY BANGER. — CONFERENCE AT BURLINGTON, N. Y. — HON. HUGH WHITE. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1805. — REV. PAUL DEAN. — REV. SEBASTIAN STREETER. — THE NORTHERN ASSOCIATION, 1805. — REV. RICHARD CARRIQUE. — REV. ELIJAH LYNCH. — REV. H. BALLOU'S "TREATISE ON ATONEMENT."

EARLY in the year 1801, Universalism was first preached in the counties of Warren and Hancock, Georgia. The believers were called, in derision,

"Hell-redemptioners," and their faith was subjected to ridicule and contempt. Their first preacher was Philip Gibbs, concerning whom we know nothing, except that he was regarded by all as a man of good moral character, and was possessed of fair abilities. He died not far from the beginning of the century; and as it had been predicted by his opposers that he would renounce his faith on his death-bed, he called his wife and children around him, and, telling them that he knew that his time had come to leave the world, "assured them of his unwavering faith in the doctrine of Universal Salvation; that it was the truth of God; and exhorted them never to distrust the goodness of the Almighty, displayed in the redemption of every son and daughter of Adam." The work was then taken up for a few years by a man named Carter, but he soon left the ministry, and was succeeded by Isaac Eilands, who had been a Baptist. He was aided for a time by John and Thomas Mitchell, two brothers, who had been active Methodists.[1] It is not known that either of the above-named attempted to organize churches, and the probabilities are that they merely gathered occasional congregations.

In New York the society of "United Christian Friends" being straitened for room, sold their small church edifice and purchased a larger property of a Lutheran congregation, on what is now known as Pearl Street. They then urgently renewed their invitation to Mr. Murray to become their pastor. Stating this fact in a letter to a friend, Mr. Murray said: "Their pecuniary offers are *very handsome;* but my engagements in this

[1] Universalist Union, Aug. 13, 1836.

place [Boston] are solemn, they are indissoluble; while life shall remain I cannot burst asunder ties so sacred, *nor do I wish* to break the ties which bind me to this metropolis." [1]

The Philadelphia Convention held its session in May. The letter of the Philadelphia Church, and the circular letter of the Convention are the only papers preserved. The former disclosed the fact that death had sadly thinned their ranks, — seventeen having departed this life since the previous session. Still the Church wrote in a courageous and cheerful spirit, seemed united in their pastor, and blessed God that several had been added to their communion. The circular letter of the Convention lamented the neglect of many of the Churches in "not sending messengers or letters to the Convention," but expressed the hope that "it is not because they have forgotten their first love, but for want of timely information of the time and place of convention." Referring to the recent inauguration of Thomas Jefferson, the Circular Letter says: "We hope you will join with us to praise God for His merciful kindness towards us, and the inhabitants of the land wherein we dwell, in placing, by His divine providence, at the helm of government a man friendly to the human race and the religious rights and liberties of mankind, under whose administration we hope to enjoy two of the greatest blessings on earth, — religious and civil liberty."

Mr. Jefferson's religious opinions have long been in dispute, and it is not our purpose to enter into the controversy which has been raised concerning them, further than to say that he had no sympathy with Trinitarianism,

[1] Letters and Sketches, ii. 400.

nor with any of the dogmas on total depravity, vicarious sacrifice, and eternal punishment, which are usually associated with Trinitarian theology; and that, on the other hand, he was not, as was charged in his time against every one who disbelieved in the Deity of Jesus Christ, a deist. He accepted the doctrines and precepts of Jesus as authoritative, as revelations from God. Writing to Charles Thomson, the first Secretary of Congress, in acknowledgment of the receipt of Mr. Thomson's "Synopsis of the Four Evangelists," Mr. Jefferson said: —

"I too have made a wee little book from the same materials, which I call the Philosophy of Jesus. It is a *paradigma* of his doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book and arranging them on the pages of a blank-book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of [than] this I have never seen. It is a document in proof that I am a *real Christian*, — that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus; very different from the Platonists, who call *me infidel* and themselves Christians and preachers of the gospel, while they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its Author never said or saw; they have compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man, of which the great reformer of the vicious ethics and deism of the Jews, were he to return on the earth, would not recognize one feature." [1]

In or near New Hanover, N. J., Robert Lawrence, a convert to Universalism from the Methodists, began to speak in Universalist meetings in 1801. He occasionally conducted meetings several years, but was never

[1] Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. i., 1851, p. 123.

ordained or fellowshipped. His family retained their old faith, and it is reported that they were so bigoted as to refuse their father's request to see and converse with a Universalist preacher, — Rev. Savillion W. Fuller, — who preached in a schoolhouse near Mr. Lawrence's residence a short time before the latter died, in 1834.[1]

The New England Convention met at Swanzey, N. H., in September. Revs. Miles T. Wooley and Edwin Ferriss received ordination. A special committee to attend to the ordination of Revs. Thomas Barns and Solomon Glover, at some future time, was chosen; and a committee was also appointed "to examine all applicants for ordination, and to ordain, if need be, in the recess of the Convention." A General Committee of Discipline was also appointed for the year. "Letters of License and Fellowship were granted to Solomon Glover, Cornelius Grey Parsons [Person], and James Babbit."

Messrs. Wooley and Ferriss were the first, so far as the records show, to receive, by vote of the Convention, ordination during its session; but the precedent thus established was followed at a majority of the sessions until 1832.

In the Circular Letter for 1801 the Convention published, for the first time, a list of preachers in fellowship, — twenty-two in number. They were the following: —

"John Murray, Boston, Mass.; Joab Young, Strafford, Vt.; Edward Turner, Sturbridge, Hosea Ballou, Dana, Caleb Rich, Warwick, Mass.; Zebulon Streeter, Surry, David Ballou, Richmond, N. H.; Ebenezer Paine, Williamsburg, Mass.; Miles Treadwell Wooley, ——, Conn.;

[1] Century of Universalism, p. 195.

Solomon Glover, Newtown, Conn.; Thomas Barns, Poland, District of Maine; Edmund Pillsbury, Northwood, N. H.; James Babbit, Dana, Mass.; Cornelius Grey Parsons [Person], Windsor, Vt.; John Foster, Taunton, Zephaniah Lathe, Grafton, Mass.; William Farewell, Barre, Vt.; Edwin Ferriss, Walter Ferriss, Pawlingstown, N. Y.; Samuel Smith, Salisbury, Conn.; Joshua Flagg, ——, Mass.; George Richards, Portsmouth, N. H. The far greater part of the above have received regular ordination. A few of them are settled with particular churches, and many still remain without any special engagements, ready to attend the Macedonian cry, 'Come hither and help us.' Thus far, by grace, these few witnesses have maintained a life and conversation which becometh the gospel; and our prayers are that they may persevere unto the end, shining brighter and brighter as they approach nearer and nearer the perfect day."

William Thomas, who had been for a short time a preacher, and concerning whom we have no further information, was dismissed at this session for irregularities of conduct. This appears to have been the first occasion for discipline.

Rev. Cornelius G. Person was a valuable accession to the ministry. How long he had been preaching before receiving fellowship at this session of the Convention is not known. He continued to preach until his death, which occurred at Ellisburgh, N. Y., Aug. 6, 1849, when he had reached his seventy-eighth year. Until 1814 his ministry was in Vermont and New Hampshire. The late Rev. Stephen R. Smith thus speaks of Mr. Person: —

"He was possessed of an excellent and discriminating judgment, a strong memory, and good preaching talents.

As a counsellor he had no superior; as a Christian, there were none more self-sacrificing, or charitable, or devoted. In public and private life there are few, indeed, who have not said and done more weak and wrong things than this good man. His life has been one continued testimony of the faith he professed; and the respect in which he has been held by all who knew him is proof of the value and character of his influence." [1]

Three years after his removal to the State of New York, Mr Person solicited and obtained the services of Rev. Nathaniel Stacy, in the manner and for the purpose thus set forth by Mr. Stacy: —

"In the summer of 1817 I received a letter from my beloved brother, Cornelius G. Person, a fellow-laborer in the vineyard of Christ in Greenfield, Saratoga Co., of whom I have several times spoken in these memoirs, informing me that, after a careful and prayerful examination of the subject, he had become conscientiously convinced that it was his solemn duty to receive baptism by immersion. And as he considered all who named the name of Christ as Christians, whatever might be their distinctive sectarian opinions, he had felt no scruple about receiving the ordinance at the hand of any authorized administrator in any branch of the Christian Church. He had, therefore, offered to receive it by the hands of both Baptist and Methodist, but neither would baptize him unless he would renounce his faith in Universal Salvation. This he had no power to do, for the evidences were so strong that he increased in faith every year and every day of his life; and he requested me to make him a visit and administer the ordinance. I replied that my

[1] Historical Sketches and Incidents, Illustrative of the Establishment and Progress of Universalism in the State of New York. First Series, 1843, p. 86.

engagements were such during the summer and fall that I could not come; but, God willing, I would make him a visit the ensuing winter, and if his faith was then strong enough, I would most cheerfully administer the ordinance. I accordingly obtained help of the Lord and fulfilled my promise to him. I found his faith 'strong in the Lord and in the power of his might;' and on the 15th of February — as cold and stormy a day as I ever experienced in that season of the year — we had a hole cut in the ice, and I baptized him 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,' and we went to his house rejoicing. We sang a hymn, and invoked the divine blessing before going into the water, and as soon as we came out stepped into his cutter and drove to his house, about a mile distant, without experiencing the least inconvenience." [1]

Samuel Smith, although placed in this list of "Approved Ministers," did not receive formal fellowship until the session of 1803. The first information which we have of him is conveyed in his letter to the Committee of the Church in Boston, in response to their inquiry for information for the names and addresses of avowed Universalists with whom they may open a correspondence, looking to a better knowledge of their strength or needs. It commences in this strange and mystical manner: —

"Salisbury [Ct.], March 4th, 1792.

"Friend and Brother, — I received thine of the 22nd of February, wherein thou acquainted me of thy knowledge of my daughter's situation, who is since dead, or in other terms, her Death is swallowed up in Life, Death's Victory; which gives me pleasure. The four Beasts or Elements have become subject to the one

[1] Memoirs of Rev. Nathaniel Stacy, 1850, p. 300.

Unity, which before stood in the opposition. Consequently they now praise in essence that which has the dominion and the Power, and give glory to that which sitteth on the Throne. The Eternal Union is the Image of the Love and the brightness of its Glory, and everything must fall down to it, or drop its crowns. Thou wished to have me give thee some information in respect to the number of the brethren within the circle of my knowledge; the situation with the number of the brethren in Egremont, Nobletown, and Great Barrington, Brother Hare can inform thee of. It is rather difficult to determine the number in towns in this State, as they remain under cover, as they think it rather unpopular; but that which now lays concealed must break forth. . . . If thoul't be kind enough to direct thy next to Sam'l Smith, Professor of Universalism, Salisbury, State of Connecticut, 't will find me."

A month later he was at Egremont, Mass., where he was associated with Ephraim Fitch, as a Committee of the Universalist Society there, in addressing George Richards, of the Boston Church, in objecting to the Platform of Faith adopted by the Philadelphia and Boston Universalists, on the ground that there were such diversities of opinion among them that any proposed system of belief "would have a tendency to disunite rather than to bind them together." Mr. Stacy thus speaks of him: —

"Samuel Smith proved an unprofitable member. He travelled about in many places, among the societies and brethren, attempting to preach, but wounding the cause wherever he went. A short time after I visited the State of New York, Smith came into and was about that country two or three months. I saw him, I believe, but once,

and felt little inclination to encourage his meetings. From thence he went to Connecticut, and soon after made shipwreck of his faith (if he ever had any, which to me was very questionable) at an exciting Methodist meeting; and the last I ever heard of him was through a very singular letter from him, addressed to a friend in New Berlin, Chenango Co., N. Y., which afforded abundant evidence that he never entertained any correct views of the doctrine of Universalism." (Memoirs, p. 94.)

In Rev. John Murray's "Letters," vol. ii., pp. 318–320, great feeling is manifest against an unnamed person whose views aroused Mr. Murray's indignation. Rev. Edward Turner says that it was Samuel Smith, and adds: "Smith had been a Quaker, and his mind was imbued with some mystical notions derived from Jacob Boehme. These were very obnoxious to Murray." [1]

For a number of years the author has been trying to find out who was the person referred to by Rev. John Eliot, D.D., in his paper on an "Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts," published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in its "Collections," vol. ix., First Series, p. 38, but no answer has been returned to his private or public inquiries; and he now feels confident that in the light of Mr. Stacy's testimony and the Quaker phraseology of the foregoing letter of March 4, 1792, Dr. Eliot had in mind the Samuel Smith whose characteristics are thus made manifest. The following is appended as a foot-note to some observations on Samuel Gorton: [2] —

[1] See Letters of Murray and Richards, Universalist Quarterly, July, 1872.

[2] For a notice of Samuel Gorton, see vol. i., pp. 13–19.

"The writer of this ecclesiastical narrative had an opportunity of knowing something similar to Gorton's expressions, conduct, and trial in the town of Boston. A man from the State of Rhode Island was accused of blasphemy and brought before a Court of Justices. He was said to be a Deist, an Atheist, blasphemer of the Bible, etc. He denied it all. Witnesses were produced who had heard him say that the Bible *was not the Word of God.* He acknowledged that he had said it, and that every Christian would say the same; that he was no Atheist or Deist, but loved his Redeemer, and venerated his Bible. Being asked how he could be consistent, he answered 'that his Bible told him that *Christ* was the *Word* of God, and the *Bible a record* of the divine will. This was all he meant by saying the Bible was not the word of God.' He was dismissed, and he laughed heartily at his accusers. This man had been a Quaker preacher; became a preacher of the Universalists, and had a small congregation in the County of Berkshire in 1794; but has never been permitted to preach in the other churches of Universalists, — his notions being very peculiar, and such his manner of expressing himself as people of all persuasions must dislike. Yet he possesses that acuteness of reasoning and recollective memory for quoting Scripture, which would have been fully equal to *Gorton,* had he met with the same opposition."

The late Rev. Lemuel Willis thus spoke of Mr. Smith in 1875: —

"The amount of good that he did while he was a member of our order was not great. But one instance came to my knowledge where the good he did was considerable, though it came indirectly. It was the year after he was received into fellowship, that is, in 1804, he made an appointment to preach in the Court House in

Salem, Mass. It was a real novelty to have the doctrine of the final restoration of all fallen intelligences preached in that Orthodox old town. But the appointment had been made by a stranger; and when the time came for the service, there had gathered quite a large number of people, and many of those who held a high position in society. Some came to hear what possible proof could be advanced in support of the faith of the preacher, and others came because they were already Universalists, or were about to be persuaded to be Christians of this sort. Well, Mr. Smith preached to this audience. But I never heard whether he preached well or ill, or whether many were pleased and some were offended. This, however, I heard, that this meeting became the germ, the occasion, of other meetings of the kind, that ultimately culminated in the organization of that great society and the erection of that grand old church in which so many have delighted to worship since. This result came in this way: a considerable number of truth-seekers were brought together on this occasion who thus had an opportunity to make known to one another their views and sympathies, and they felt moved to strive together to do something to promote that faith which each had entertained unknown and unsuspected by others. Men who lived on the same street and in the same neighborhood, men who had done business together for a long time, — had not known till now that they secretly held the same views of the final triumphs of redeeming grace. They now stood revealed to one another and were ready for future operations."

The Convention of 1801 also took the following action, looking to the creation of a Mission Fund: —

"*Voted*, That a fund be raised by such ways and means as may hereafter be devised; the amount [object]

of which fund is to supply the wants of Brethren sent forth to preach, to aid in the printing of any useful works, and to answer all such charitable purposes as the Convention may judge proper. That it is expedient to have a Treasurer to take care of said fund, and that brother David Ballou, of Richmond, Massachusetts [New Hampshire], be, and hereby is appointed Treasurer of this Convention."[1]

The ways and means subsequently recommended were an annual collection from all the churches and the solicitation of private donations.

In November, 1801, Elias Smith, who had been for several years a Baptist preacher, became a believer in Universalism, and preached a few sermons in its defence. He tells us that his youngest brother, Richard R. Smith, who had also been a Baptist preacher, embraced the doctrine of Universalism, and came to Salisbury, N. H., where Elias was then residing, and preached "his new doctrine." "As my mind," he says, "ran upon the doctrine, I read Winchester's dialogues, Cheney's [Chauncy's ?] writings, and Huntington's 'Calvinism Improved; or, Salvation for All Men.' Being convinced that Calvinism was wrong, I concluded that of course Universalism must be right, and my mind consented that it was so."[2] In a few months Mr. Smith renounced his new faith, and became the founder of a sect who called themselves Christians. They pro-

[1] The other treasurers have been, Revs. Zebulon Streeter, 1802–1808; George Richards, 1808–1809; Abner Kneeland, 1809–1815; Edward Turner, 1815–1824. The Convention had no treasurer from 1824 till 1865, when E. W. Crowell, Esq., was elected, and served till 1869; 1869–1879, D. L. Holden, Esq.; 1879–1885, E. B. Fellows, Esq.; 1885, Stevenson Taylor, Esq., the present incumbent.

[2] Life of Elias Smith, vol. i., pp. 291, 292.

fessed to reject all creeds, and claimed that they accepted the New Testament only as authority. In the interest of his new denomination, Mr. Smith commenced, in September, 1808, the publication, at Portsmouth, N. H., of "The Herald of Gospel Liberty," which is believed to have been the first religious newspaper printed in this country, if not in any country. In 1817 Mr. Smith again became a Universalist, and in 1819 published, in defence of the doctrine, "The Herald of Life and Immortality," of which more will be said in another place. Subsequently he fell away again; but in 1842 "he was considered sick unto death, but much time was spared him during that sickness to review the past and investigate anew the Scriptures. . . . New light burst upon him; difficulties that had always lain in his way were removed, and more distinctly than ever before he beheld the glory of the Universal Restoration. . . . In April, 1843, he gave an account of his new experience while he lay at death's door, and his lecture was reported in the 'Gospel Messenger' for May 6th." [1] He died, strong in the belief of Universalism, in the summer of 1846. Of his brother Richard we have no further knowledge.

The Philadelphia Convention met in 1802, in May; and the session was described in the Circular Letter as "an agreeable interview." A new church instituted at Luzerne, Plymouth County, Penn., was admitted to fellowship. They reported that through the labors of

[1] The Ladies' Repository, vol. xv., pp. 76, 77. See also Whittemore's Life of Hosea Ballou, vol. ii., p. 250; and Rev. L. Willis's Biographical Sketch of Mr. Smith, in "The Universalist," May 30, 1874.

"our beloved brother, Elder Nicholas Cox, many are brought into the belief of the Universal doctrine," and that they had "prevailed with Bro. Cox to come and spend six months with them." The Church in New Britain reported: "We have a little Meeting-house, built in a convenient place by the side of a public road, and finished in November last. Since then we have had meetings for religious worship therein every first day of the week. But a few, only, incline to meet statedly. The spirit of opposition hath lately revived itself in this neighborhood." The Convention voted to reprint "'Relly's Epistles on the Great Salvation Contemplated,' provided five hundred copies are subscribed for," and recommended the churches to circulate subscriptions.

The New England Convention for 1802 met at Stratford, Vt., in September. No response having been made to the request for an annual collection, the recommendation was renewed, and the Convention issued a special "Address to the Universal Churches and Societies on the subject of the proposed Conventional Fund." Opposition had been manifest against the measure, and the Address took notice of the following objections: —

"First, we remonstrate against banking money for defraying travelling expenses; second, we see something in the plan that looks a little like ecclesiastical revenue; third, by raising a pretty good fund of money we might obtain additional laborers, but we are strongly suspicious of their faithfulness."

After protesting against the injustice of such insinuations, the Address continued: —

"The limits of our utmost expectations were that, as upwards of forty Societies hold fellowship with this Convention, their members might possibly contribute from fifty to sixty dollars per year; that if a sermon was annually printed one half of this must be expended on printing the few copies sent to the Churches; that another part would probably go to the impression of the Circular Letters; that some faithful brother might need a portion of the rest to help him on a mission whither he might be sent of the Lord, or the Convention; and that possibly some lorn widow, some destitute child of a deceased faithful brother, might sue, most humbly sue, in the tattered robe of poverty and woe, for the little remainder."

On representation being made to the Convention that "Brother Elhanan Winchester rests in the grave without a monument to mark the spot," Rev. George Richards was requested to attend to the procuring of grave-stones, with a suitable inscription. This he faithfully attended to, submitting at the following session an inscription which he had prepared,[1] and an estimate of the cost of erecting the monument. The report was approved, and the work was continued and completed by him, the necessary funds being at once placed in his hands.

License to preach was granted to Isaac Root, James Foster, and Samuel Hilliard. Isaac Root was born in 1756, and had been pastor of a Baptist Church in Dan-

[1] "The General Convention of the Universal Churches, in Memory of their dear departed brother, Elhanan Winchester, erected this monumental stone. He died April 18th, 1797, aged 46 years.

"'Twas *thine* to preach, with animated zeal,
The glories of the *Restitution* morn,
When SIN, DEATH, HELL, the power of Christ shall feel,
And LIGHT, LIFE, IMMORTALITY, be born."

ville, Vt.;[1] for a year or two after being licensed by the Universalists he preached in Haverhill, Mass., and Plaistow and Southampton, N. H., and neighboring towns. In 1804 he moved to Livermore, Me., where and at Buckfield, Turner, and other places in the District, he preached several years. In 1815 he visited the Western Association in Homer, N. Y., and, says Mr. Stacy, "gave us encouragement of taking up his abode in this country, which he did in the course of the season." (Memoirs, p. 265.) Mr. Smith (Historical Sketches, i., p. 115), speaking of the same session of the Association, says: —

"One clergyman, Mr. I. Root, a man of strong talents, clear views, and great personal worth, was present at the session, and in the course of the season located at what is now Mottville, Onondaga County. He was known as an able co-worker in the cause of truth, and his establishment in the country was justly regarded as a new guaranty of the prosperity of Universalism. Nor were these expectations disappointed, — but by his death, which took place about three years afterwards. He was from Maine, where it is believed that he once preached in connection with the Baptists."

During the last year of his life, Mr. Root's health was so feeble that he preached but little. Early in June, 1818, he went to Owasco, — a neighboring town to his home, — and on Sabbath, the 7th, having preached one discourse, and about to begin the second, he fell backward dead. Heart disease was the cause.

Of James Foster we have no information, except that he died in Bridgeport, N. Y., in the winter of 1855.

[1] See Life of Elias Smith, vol. i., p. 205.

He probably did not preach regularly. Of Samuel Hilliard's ministry we simply know that he was preaching in Cavendish, Vt., in 1813, and moved to Clarendon, in that State, about 1830, where he died on the 16th December, 1831, aged eighty-three years. A notice of his death, published a few days after that event, says that —

"He was a Soldier of the Revolution, and one of that patriot band who assisted in achieving the victory at the battle of Bennington. He continued till a few days previous to his decease in the enjoyment of uninterrupted health, and to the very hour of his death in a firm belief of the truth of that doctrine which it had been the principal business of his life to inculcate."

John Coffin was also present as a preacher, but we find no other mention of him.

By far the most important items of business brought before the session in 1802 were the following : —

"On motion of Brother Walter Ferriss, and the Churches of Charlotte, Hinesburg, and Monkton, a Committee was appointed to form a plan of fellowship in faith and practice, for the edifying of the body, and building it up together. Brothers Z. Streeter, G. Richards, H. Ballou, W. Ferriss, and Z. Lathe, were chosen, and are to report at the next Convention, provided life be spared.

"Christopher Erskine, of Claremont, sued for the non-payment of Congregational Ministerial Taxes, prayed Counsel. The Convention directed Bro. G. Richards to Memorialize the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State of New Hampshire, and if possible to obtain a reconsideration of a late decision which has pronounced that Congregationalists and Universalists are the same people, — at least so far as this, that the latter ought to pay taxes to the former. It being thus

written of man that the *Younger* shall serve the *Elder*. not by *love* but *cash*."

These two subjects — the legal difficulties of Christopher Erskine and the preparation of "a plan of fellowship in faith and practice" — have been commonly considered by Universalists as related to each other as cause and effect; or, at all events, that the one furnished the occasion for the other. It is a tradition with us that if it had not been for the decision of the courts of New Hampshire "that Congregationalists and Universalists are the same people," no "profession of belief" would have been adopted, or even thought of, by the Convention. All such notions are erroneous, and the tradition has no foundation in well-established facts. What the facts are relating to the "plan of fellowship in faith and practice" will be disclosed when we come to consider the proceedings of the Convention at its session in 1803; what they are as respects Erskine's case will now be set forth.

Originally, the towns in New Hampshire were parishes for the support of the ministry; that is, the ministry established by a majority in the parish. These were generally, if not exclusively, Congregationalists; and Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists were taxed for the support of the Congregationalists who had created the parish.

Christopher Erskine was a resident of Claremont, N. H., and as such was liable to pay tax for the support of the Congregational Society in that town. He was, however, a Universalist, and as early as 1796, as appears from the following, had united with the Universalist Society in an adjoining town: —

"Charlestown, Feb. 19, 1796.

"This may certify that Christopher Erskine belongs to the Universalist Society and contributes to that order.

"William Farewell, *Elder.*

"Recorded Feb. 23, 1796." [1]

Notwithstanding this certificate, which was supposed to meet the requirement of the Constitution and laws of the State, and to show that Erskine belonged to a sect or denomination different from the Congregationalists, the parish in Claremont continued to tax him, and arrested him for refusing to pay; whereupon he brought suit against the selectmen of the town. A town meeting was then called, in the warrant for which occurred this article: —

"5th. To see if the inhabitants will choose an agent to defend the town against two lawsuits, one of which was commenced by Peter Wakefield, and the other by Christopher Erskine."

This meeting was held "March 20th, 1801," when

"Capt. Gideon Henderson was appointed agent to defend said lawsuits." [2]

The legal history of the case is thus given by Hon. Chief Justice Smith, who was presiding judge of the Superior Court when Erskine's case was decided at the October term, 1802: —

"Christopher Erskine was assessed for a minister tax to pay the salary of Rev. Mr. Tappan, minister of Claremont, a Congregationalist. Having been arrested by the collector and thus compelled to pay the tax, he brought

[1] Town Records of Claremont, N. H.

[2] From the Records of the Congregational Church, Claremont, N.H.

an action for false imprisonment, etc., against Henderson and Peckham, two of the selectmen of Claremont, who assessed the tax. The action was commenced before Francis Smith, Esq., Justice of the Peace, who gave judgment for Erskine. Henderson and Peckham appealed to the Court of Common Pleas. Upon the trial in that court, the court, against the objections of the defendants, Henderson and Peckham, admitted evidence that Erskine was a Universalist; and the jury found a verdict for Erskine. Henderson and Peckham tendered a bill of exceptions; the Court of Common Pleas refused to allow the bill, and gave judgment in favor of Erskine on the verdict. Henderson and Peckham then brought a writ of error to the Superior Court; upon the return of the *certiorari* they showed the bill tendered and refused below, and obtained a writ commanding the Common Pleas to allow the bill of exceptions if the matters therein contained were truly stated. Accordingly, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas allowed the bill; and it was returned with the writ to the Superior Court. The plaintiffs in error, Henderson and Peckham, assigned the general error, and also the decision of the court below, in admitting the evidence objected to. The hearing came on before Chief Justice Smith, Judge Farrar, and Judge Livermore. Judges Farrar and Livermore reversed the judgment of the Common Pleas. Chief Justice Smith did not concur in this decision. He doubted whether Henderson and Peckham had taken their objections in the proper form. But all three judges appear to have concurred in thinking that Universalists and Congregationalists are not different sects within the meaning of the Constitution." [1]

[1] For this condensed account from the MSS. of Chief Justice Smith, I am indebted to his son, Hon. Jeremiah Smith, now of Minnesota, but formerly a judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire.

The date of the hearing of the case before the Superior Court is determined by the records of the Chief Justice. Judge Smith writes me as follows on the subject: —

"Chief Justice Smith's MSS. in reference to the case of Erskine, show that at the October term, 1802, in Cheshire County, the Superior Court held that Universalists and Congregationalists were not different sects within the meaning of the Constitution. It does not appear whether any reasons were given at the time; but the grounds of this decision may be collected from the subsequent opinion of *Muzzy* v. *Wilkins*, Hillsborough County, May term, 1803. The precise point decided in *Muzzy* v. *Wilkins* was, that Presbyterians and Congregationalists are different sects within the meaning of the Constitution, because they differ in church government and discipline, though they agree in doctrinal belief. The court adopted as the test uniformity in externals, not in belief; and intimate that if two bodies agreed in church government and discipline, but differed in doctrinal belief, they would not be different sects within the meaning of the Constitution. In this connection reference is made to the Universalists and Congregationalists, and the case of Erskine is mentioned."

Judge Smith also says in the same letter: —

"Chief Justice Smith was a believer in the ultimate salvation of all mankind; and there are no traces of bigotry in his opinions."

Through the kindness of Hon. Charles Doe, present Judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire, we have been favored with a copy of the records of the Cheshire County Court, kept at Keene, N. H. They show that —

"Christopher Erskine, of Claremont, by writ dated Dec. 30, 1800, returnable Feb. 8, 1801, sued Gideon Henderson and Alexander Peckins [1] in a plea of trespass, for compelling him by illegal imprisonment to pay $6.50. The case was tried before Francis Smith, J. P., March 27, 1801; A. Hutchins, Jr., for plaintiff; B. Upham for defendants. Defendants recovered judgment for their costs. Erskine appealed to the Court of Common Pleas, to be held the first Tuesday of April, then next. At said April term the case was tried by jury. Verdict for Erskine for $6. Judgment for $6.50 and costs, $57.34. At the May term, 1801, of the Superior Court, the defendants, Henderson and Peckins, filed a petition, wherein they set forth the proceedings in said suit, that at the trial the Court of Common Pleas admitted improper evidence, that they alleged exceptions thereto which the court refused to allow, that a bill of exceptions was tendered and the justices refused to 'put their seals' to the same; and pray for a writ of mandamus. This petition was continued to the October term, 1801, at which time the parties appear, and being fully heard by their counsel learned in the law, etc., 'it is considered by the court that a writ of mandamus issue to the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, directing them to seal said bill of exceptions or to appear at the next Superior Court for said County of Cheshire and shew cause why they do not seal the same.' This petition sets forth the bill of exceptions (nowhere else to be found), in which the proceedings in said suit are rehearsed. At the jury trial the facts were admitted that in 1799 the defendants were selectmen of Claremont; that $300 was voted to be raised by the Congregational Society in Claremont to support

[1] The name is not "Peckham," as written by Chief Justice Smith, nor "Peckins," as on the court record; but, according to the town and parish records of Claremont, it is *Pickens*.

the minister; that defendants assessed Erskine his proportion of said tax, $5.49; that under their warrant the collector arrested and compelled Erskine to pay the tax and fees. It was also admitted that all the facts and transactions were lawful and proper, 'if the said Erskine was by law liable to pay said ministerial tax or any part thereof; and the said Erskine by his counsel, to maintain the issue aforesaid on the part of the plaintiff, offers to give in evidence to the jury duly impanelled and sworn to try the issue aforesaid, that the plaintiff was at the time of raising said ministerial tax, and long before and ever since has been, one of those who call themselves, and in fact are, Universalists. To the admission of this evidence the said Gideon and Alexander by their counsel object, and assign as the reason of their objection that the Universalists are not such a sect, persuasion, or denomination of Christians as are by the Constitution or laws of New Hampshire exempted from the payment of taxes raised for the support of a minister of a Congregational Society.' Objection overruled, evidence admitted, verdict for plaintiff, and bill of exceptions tendered, etc., as above stated. At the October term, 1802, of the Superior Court, the judgment of the Court of Common Pleas was reversed and judgment rendered for the plaintiffs in error, Henderson and Peckins, for damages and costs." [1]

Among the papers of Erskine's case at the final trial

[1] The judges present at the jury trial, April, 1801, were: Francis Smith, Samuel Kingsbery, Nathaniel S. Prentice, and Lemuel Holmes, justices. At the May term of the Superior Court, 1801, Simeon Olcott, chief-justice; Timothy Farrar and Arthur Livermore, justices. At the October term, 1801, Simeon Olcott, chief-justice; Timothy Farrar and Paine Wingate, justices. At the October term, 1802, Jeremiah Smith, chief-justice; Timothy Farrar and Arthur Livermore, justices. — Court of Common Pleas Records, vol. xiii., Case 334; Superior Court Records, vol. vi., pp. 57, 242.

is the following certificate of Chief Justice Olcott, which evidently refers to a case or cases of earlier date than Erskine's : —

"I certify that it has been settled by the Superior Court that persons called Universalists are not such a sect, persuasion, or denomination, as by the Constitution of New Hampshire are exempt from the payment of taxes for the support of a regularly settled minister of a Congregational Society in the town where such persons live. And I think that in establishing this practice the court were unanimous.

"Simeon Olcott.

"April ye 3d, 1801."

The substance of this decision, as notice the above citations from the record, was in all probability introduced into the argument of Henderson and Pickens' counsel at the trial in the Court of Common Pleas. And possibly this may explain what is said in the vote of the Convention in September, 1802, of the decision of the Superior Court. Very likely Erskine's counsel may have desired such a memorial as the Convention instructed Rev. George Richards to draw up; but there is nothing to show that it was ever offered in court or used by counsel in his argument.

The history of the case as thus entered on the court records differs from the memoranda of Chief Justice Smith in this only, that it shows that Erskine lost his case at the trial before the justice of the peace, and that he appealed to the Court of Common Pleas.

The decision or ruling of another judge is thus given : —

"In one case where the party resisting the tax was a Universalist, the decision was against him. Judge Win-

gate charged the jury that if the party claiming the exemption did not prove himself, in the words of the Constitution, to belong to 'another persuasion, sect, or denomination,' he was bound to pay his tax for the support of the minister of the town; and that to make him such, the difference must be something more than that which separated Calvinists from Universalists; in other words, that a person who believed in Universal Salvation might, in the eye of the law, be of the same persuasion with another who believed that not one in ten would be saved. They agreed, said the judge, in more points than they differed in. They were both Christians; and the inference somewhat harshly drawn was, that they were both bound to support the same preacher." [1]

Paine Wingate, whose singular ruling is thus noted, was not a lawyer by profession, but a clergyman. He had been a senator in Congress, and his appointment as judge, in 1797, was a surprise to members of the bar. Governor Plumer intimates that the judge paid very little attention to law or precedent, but ruled according to his own opinions or feelings.

"Wingate's zeal in this class of cases," he adds, "was probably political rather than religious, for he was not himself quite orthodox in his belief. But the sectaries were nearly all Republicans, while the Congregationalists, especially the clergy, were generally Federalists." This zeal, the Governor also informs us, was not confined to his efforts on the bench, but in private conversation he made known his displeasure towards the lawyers who were defending the "sectaries," and

[1] Life of William Plumer, by his Son, William Plumer, Jr., 1856, p. 186.

was solicitous that they should know and feel his opposition to their course.[1]

Judge Smith having favored the author with the following extract from the text of his father's decision, and a note appended to it, in the case of *Muzzy* v. *Wilkins*, it is here presented, as conclusively showing that exemption from liability to be taxed by a Congregational parish was not at all conditioned on differences of belief; for between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism there were no theological differences: —

"Our next inquiry is, Do Presbyterians differ from Congregationalists in discipline, church government, and worship, in the external forms? Are they a separate and distinct society? Do they usually associate and worship by themselves? If we apply these tests to deists (for as to atheists it is not proper to consider them as a religious sect), Calvinists, Arminians, Hopkinsians, Universalists, etc., it will appear that these are not distinct sects. They are found blended with all sects. Among Episcopalians there are Calvinists and Arminians; there are also many Universalists. Some of the dignitaries of the church have embraced the Universal scheme. Bishop Newton was a Universalist. Among the Congregationalists and Independents we may mention Dr. Priestly, Dr. Chauncey, Dr. Huntington, etc. Generally speaking, the Universalists have no distinct formulary of government and discipline. In large towns they sometimes associate and worship together. (*a*) But embracing this tenet makes in general no more difference as to the form of church government and discipline than embracing the Calvinistic, Arminian, Hopkinsian opinions does.

(*a*) So do Calvinists, etc. Now and then we find a Calvinistic Society in the country.

[1] Life of William Plumer, p. 187.

"That Universalists are not a distinct sect from Congregationalists must now be considered as settled by the decision in *Henderson and Peckham* v. *Christopher Erskine* in error, Cheshire, October term, 1802.

"In the nature of things there is no more ground to exempt Universalists than Arminians from paying towards the support of a Hopkinsian teacher."

In a case tried a few years ago in the Superior Court of New Hampshire, Associate-Justice Hon. Charles Doe, in delivering his opinion, made the following allusion to Christopher Erskine's case, and to what the court decided with reference to it: —

"The definition of Congregationalism was forcibly illustrated in *Henderson and al.* v. *Erskine,* and in other cases, more than sixty years ago, when towns were parishes, and as such had power to elect teachers of piety, morality, and religion, and as such had power to support them by taxation. The Constitution provides that no person of one sect or denomination shall be compelled to pay towards the support of the religious teacher or teachers of another persuasion, sect, or denomination. Towns in which the majorities were Trinitarian Congregationalists elected Trinitarian Congregational religious teachers, and taxed Universalists, as well as others, to support them; and the courts held that Universalists were Congregationalists, and must pay the ministerial taxes. Those decisions were manifestly wrong in this: they were based solely on the indisputable proposition that Universalists are Congregationalists, in disregard of two other propositions equally indisputable and equally important, — that Universalists are one of several Congregational sects, and that religious liberty is the object of the constitutional provision. In 1804 the Freewill Baptists, in 1805 the Universalists, and in 1807 the Methodists,

applied to the Legislature for relief from the tax-paying consequences of being held not to be religious sects distinct from the Puritans, and procured the passage of resolutions declaring them to be religious sects entitled to the constitutional privilege. Whether they were religious sects within the meaning of the Constitution or not, was a judicial and not a legislative question; but by the unconstitutional and void resolutions of the Legislature, the erroneous decisions of courts, juries, towns, and town-officers were practically reversed. In holding Universalists, whom they regarded as infidels, to be liable as Congregationalists to Congregational taxation, the Puritans illustrated the broad idea of Congregationalism as a system of ecclesiastical government without any theological limitations." [1]

Judge Doe, in response to a communication, in which the author informed him of the tradition among us touching the reason why the court decided that Universalists and Congregationalists could not be regarded as distinct sects, says: "There is no doubt that Chief Justice Smith regarded Universalists as liable to Puritan taxation on the ground that they were Congregationalists in the sense of being a sect of independent parishes, and that there was no theological test of sects capable of being practically applied in the law."

While it is true that the decision of Chief Justice Smith was not made till after the session of the Convention of 1802, it is very certain that the ruling of Judge Wingate as early as 1801, if not some time earlier, conceded a theological difference between Universalists and Congregationalists, and therefore could not have justified the conclusion which our tradition

[1] New Hampshire Reports, vol. liii. (1874), Case of *Hale* v. *Everett.*

says was drawn by the Convention, — that the adoption of a profession of belief would relieve them from liability to taxation for the support of a Congregational parish. Nor can we see how such an inference could be drawn from Judge Olcott's statement in the certificate made use of at any stage of Erskine's trial.

The subsequent action of the Convention in regard to legal difficulties does not seem consistent with the idea that such difficulties were regarded as either the cause or the occasion for adopting a profession of belief. At the session of the Convention for 1803, Mr. Richards reported that he had presented the memorial to the court, as directed, but it had produced no beneficial effect. This probably was no surprise, for it was clearly an irregular proceeding that the court would pay no attention to, — its business being wholly with the parties to the suit, through their counsel. The Convention then voted : —

"Brother George Richards is requested to present a respectful petition to the Legislature of New Hampshire in behalf of Brother Christopher Erskine ; and also a memorial in behalf of the fulness of the body of Universalists in New Hampshire, that they may be delivered from the payment of taxes for the support of Congregational ministers, which is, as the General Convention humbly conceives, a great grievance in itself, and totally repugnant to the letter and spirit of the glorious Constitution of the State of New Hampshire."

Mr. Richards' petition, which has been looked for in vain among the papers in the Secretary of State's Office, was presented to the Legislature Nov. 30, 1803, and referred to a committee, who reported on the 29th

December that the petitioner have leave to withdraw, which report was adopted. At the same session the House having voted seventy-two in favor and seventy-one against granting the prayer of William White, Esq., and others, to be incorporated into a body politic by the name of the "Wentworth Universal Religious Society," the Senate non-concurred. The action of the Legislature in these cases is not consistent with the popular boast among us that the adoption of a profession of belief gave us a legal status. Relief came to the Universalists of New Hampshire by the following action of the Legislature of that State at the June session, 1805 : —

"A resolve that all the people of this State known by the name of Universalists be and they are hereby recognized as a distinct religious sect or denomination from any other, and are entitled to all the privileges and immunities which any other denomination is entitled to by the Constitution and laws of said State, was brought up, read and concurred, presented and approved."

This resolve probably grew out of the petition of Universalists in New Hampshire, emboldened by the success of the Free-Will Baptists, — also Congregationalists in their church polity, — who had been recognized by the passage of a similar resolution the year before.

The Convention of 1803 also voted to issue a special Address to the brethren in New Hampshire. It has been preserved in the manuscripts [1] of the late Rev. Edward Turner, and is as follows : —

[1] In the possession of the Universalist Historical Society.

"Address to the individual members of the body of Universalists in the State of New Hampshire, occasioned by the decision of the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of said State, adjudging the payment of ministerial taxes to Congregational ministers.

"Dearly Beloved Brethren, — It hath been represented to the General Convention of the Universalist churches and societies of the New England States that their brethren who reside in the State of New Hampshire are liable to be sued for the payment of ministerial taxes assessed in the first instance, and collected in the second, for the support and maintenance of the ministers of the Congregational order. And as it becometh us to watch over the temporal no less than the spiritual interests of the many members of the same body, by offering that fraternal and friendly advice which may guide our brethren in peace through the midst of dangers and difficulties, and bring them beyond the tempest and the storm to the haven of desired rest, we therefore entreat your kind permission to sympathize in the tenderness of sympathy with the immediate sufferers, and in much meekness and abundant love we beseech your candid attention to the faithful word of brotherly counsel.

"That the judgment of the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, in the case of the town of Claremont against Brother Christopher Erskine, hath opened a wide and effectual door for the Congregational ministerial taxes at the hands of all the Universalists in the interior of New Hampshire; that the spirit of their late judicial decisions have blotted the whole body of professing members in the country towns from the volume of legal existence, taken away the inestimable privilege of adducing evidence to prove that such a sect has any religious being, denied the right of trial to professed subjects by a jury of their lawful jurors, and subjected the property of unoffending thousands to the

absolute control of the Bench, — are serious, solemn, and awful truths which no man presumes either to dispute or deny; and that the consequences resulting therefrom will most probably terminate in multiplied vexatious lawsuits, in harsh distrainments on valuable real or personal estate, in severe executions levied with the tender mercies of the wicked, and in final close commitments to damp and unwholesome prisons, are events that we seriously anticipate in rapidly advancing prospect by a present recurrence to real facts that have lately taken place.

"Brethren, behold the dangers which threaten; they are described with faithfulness and zeal. Survey the gathering storm! it is pictured with words of soberness and truth. And will you seek a shelter from the tempest by taking refuge under the wings of any other society than that to which you are conscientiously attached? Will you attempt to save the mammon of this world by a denial of your hope in that which is to come? Will you apply for exemption from a church who [which] certifies to faith that was never believed, as the Pope sells pardons for sins which he cannot forgive? Will you make any compact with Belial, to shun the reproach of the name of Christ? Will you bow the knee in the house of Rimmon and expect the Lord to pardon the deceit? Will you worship the golden image in the high places of clerical pride, or manfully refuse to fall down and adore? Will you say, as others have said, that Congregationalists and Universalists are one and the same religious sect? Will you acknowledge that you are not a distinct denomination from them who are most bitterly opposed to you? Will you affirm that there is no difference in your systems of faith, when one builds on the foundation of human works, and one on the Rock of eternal ages? when one believes that Jesus is the Saviour of all men, and the other thinks that some men save

themselves? when one triumphs in the persuasion that sin shall cease to be, and the other affirms that it shall exist forever? when one rejoices that death shall be no more, and the other is well pleased that it shall never die? when one anticipates the restitution of all the families of the earth, and the other looks forward to the endless reign of sin, of Satan and of misery? when one believes [in] the final happiness of all the sons of Adam, and the other [in] the eternal woe of half the race of man? These are distinguishing marks. These are dividing lines. They are known to your enemies; they are confessed by your friends. Suffer us, therefore, to beseech that you will not meanly temporize; that you will not make a compact with iniquity and deny the Lord who hath bought you. It is true that a steadfastness in the faith, without wavering, will unavoidably subject you to a momentary loss of worldly goods; but remember him who hath said that in heaven ye have a better and more enduring substance. Blessed be God that you are not called upon to endure cruel trials of mockings and scourgings; to wander about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, destitute, tormented and afflicted; to hide yourselves in dens, in mountains and in caverns of the earth. The genius of that religion which seizes your property is forbidden, as Satan, its father, was, to touch your lives. Be ye thankful for this, and take those for your pattern who counted not even life dear.

"In the manner and mode of attachment, distraint, judgment, and execution, you must expect to encounter many unpleasant things, many unkind words, and many unkind deeds. But we beseech you that ye act as the disciples of the Lord, who, when he was reviled, reviled not again. And above all things, we charge and command you, in the name of the Lord, and by the example of our God, that ye resist not evil with violence; that you avoid hasty and bitter expressions against the

powers that have ordained you to suffer; that you watch over, in yourselves and in others, all rashness of deed; that you lift no voice, nor head, nor arm against the legally constituted authorities of the State of New Hampshire; that you study peace, seek for and pursue it, and rather suffer wrong than do wrong in thought, in word, or in act. Be warned, we beseech you, of this — that there are designing and unfriendly spirits, who wish to drive you to resistance; who wish even to arm you against them that oppress you. But, dear brethren, can these be your friends? O, no! They are seeking for advantages whereby ye may fall forever. They are laying snares of deceit to catch your unwary feet. Give them no advantages by your own imprudence. Be calm in all things; keep the rising passions down, and let the real Christian spirit reign in all meekness and humility. Be faithful even unto death, if need be, for Jesus' sake, but forbear the infliction of those wounds that you may receive. Suffer your property to vanish in the flames of law; but kindle no unhallowed fires of yourselves. The waters of charity, forbearance and patience may become your temporal salvation.

"Rest assured, dear brethren, that the General Convention of the Universalist Churches of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Vermont, united with those of New Hampshire, consider your private wrongs a common, public cause. Be persuaded that they are feelingly alive to all your interests. Receive their solemn assurance that they will neither leave nor forsake you. Much is expected from a cool, dispassionate appeal to the Legislature of New Hampshire. This effort is directed to be made at their approaching session. Wait the eventual issue. We cannot, we will not believe that the Constitution of New Hampshire will be surrendered to the Judges of any Court, and [or] that a tribunal has existence on earth which will finally be allowed to trample the rights of

conscience under foot. We are confident that relief will at last come, in the powerful energy of just and righteous law. The cloud beneath which you now are is not a cloud of thick darkness. All denominations must read it as charged with death to every name except that of the Congregational order, and all denominations, saving one, on principles of self-preservation, will give you their hearts and their hands.

"Be comforted, dear brethren; the tempest is but of a moment's duration, and it will be followed by a far more exceeding weight of glory. Meekness, mildness, forbearance, respect for the constituted authorities of the State, and abstinence from hastiness of speech and rashness of deed, are the great things on which, under the smiles of heaven, you are earnestly entreated to place your firmest, fullest, best reliance; and may the Lord give you wisdom, prudence and sound discretion, and unite therewith the spirit of Christian patience and the soul of Christian peace. Brethren, we commend you to God, and bid you an affectionate farewell."

The foregoing Address will be searched in vain for any allusion to the adoption of a profession of belief; nor is there in it the most remote hint that any declaration of faith had relieved, or would relieve them from taxation. On the contrary, they are warned that they may expect "multiplied vexatious lawsuits," and that their only relief can come from special legislation in their behalf by the New Hampshire Legislature. If our tradition were well based, these omissions are unaccountable in an address intended to give all concerned the greatest possible light and information on this subject of such vital interest.

But leaving here this case of Erskine, we take up again the history of denominational affairs in chrono-

logical order. In Coffin's History of Boscawen, N. H., we read that a religious society bearing the title of "The Universal Society," was formed in that town in 1802.

"The members were mostly residents of other towns. It was another revolt against the long received theology. Its members believed in the universal salvation of men. Two of its members, Mr. Timothy and Mr. Pearson Eastman, moving into Boscawen from Salisbury [Conn. ?], brought with them certificates of membership which are on record. This was to exempt them from taxation for the support of the ministry, which question had been already settled by the voluntary settlement of Mr. Wood as minister of the town. The record shows the widespread disaffection with the old order of things, and also dates the formation of the first Universalist Society in this section of the State."

The appearance of Rev. John Foster in New York (as mentioned in vol. i., p. 537), took place this year; and through the refusal of the "Society of United Christian Friends" to admit him to their pulpit, caused a secession from that organization, which, following Mr. Foster, organized in some form, holding meetings for a time on Rose Street, and afterwards on Broadway, near Pearl Street.[1] How long they continued their organization we have no means of knowing, but it is certain that they kept together till the summer of 1805, if not longer. In a letter from Rev. George Richards to Rev. Edward Turner, dated "Portsmouth, N. H., 19th July, 1805," Mr. Richards says: "I am told by my son that Foster's Society in New York are heartily tired of him, and that they wish to fix you in his

[1] Century of Universalism, p. 268.

place."[1] Mr. Foster delivered four discourses on Universal Salvation, in the city of New York, in 1807, and they were at once published in pamphlet form. Whether he was at that time preaching statedly there or only occasionally, is unknown.

In April, 1802, appeared the first number of "The Berean," a Universalist periodical, published in Boston, of which more will be said in another place.

In the summer of 1802, Rev. John Taylor, of Deerfield, Mass., made a missionary journey "to the northern counties in the State of New York, in compliance with the desire of the Missionary Society in the County of Hampshire." His Journal (published in vol. iii. of the "Documentary History of New York") mentions that he found Universalists in several places through which he passed. In Norway, Herkimer County, he encountered "a mixture of Baptists, Methodists, Universalists and Deists. In the various parts of the town there is preaching by sectarians of almost all kinds, every Sabbath." At Clinton, Oneida County, "a few Universalists;" at Sandy Creek, Oswego County, "there are meetings on the Sabbath in three places. They are generally Baptists and Congregationalists, — a considerable number of Universalists." He makes no special comments on the Universalists; but the Baptists and Methodists excite his intense prejudice, and he pronounces them "the worst of all," "a most wretched people — the filth of the world." The settlers in the towns named by Mr. Taylor were from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

It was also during the summer of 1802 that Rev.

[1] Universalist Quarterly, July, 1872, p. 291.

Edwin Ferriss (mentioned in vol. i., p. 539) visited the town of Butternuts, Otsego County, N. Y., "and delivered to the few scattered inhabitants, the message of Universal Salvation." The next year he moved his family from Vermont, and settled in that town, "continuing his ministry there and in the neighboring settlements," but spending most of his time in the improvement and cultivation of his farm.[1]

In March, 1803, the first Universalist Society west of New York City was organized with about twenty-five members in Hartwick, Otsego County, N. Y., in a schoolhouse, about three miles south of Cooperstown. Mr. Smith, in his "Historical Sketches" (vol. i., p. 10), gives the impression that it was done through the labors of Rev. M. T. Wooley (see vol. i., p. 537), who was at that time travelling in that region,[2] and took up his abode there in 1804. No house of worship was erected by this Society till 1821, when for the greater convenience of the members, it was located at Fly Creek, — a village about two miles from where the Society was organized eighteen years before.

The session of the Philadelphia Convention, in May, 1803, was very thinly attended, and no important business was transacted. The records show that "Bro. John Murray, from Boston, being present, his company and assistance was requested." Philadelphia, New Britain, and Pittsgrove were the only churches represented. Indifference or, perhaps, want of pastoral care, caused the great majority of the churches to neglect sending messengers, and to fail in giving information of their condition.

[1] S. R. Smith's Historical Sketches, i., p. 8.

[2] See also Memoirs of Rev. N. Stacy, p. 105.

These were days of feebleness and trial in that section of the country.

The New England Convention met in 1803 in Winchester, N. H. Noah Murray, Abner Kneeland, Samuel Smith, and Nathaniel Stacy, received letters of fellowship. Of Noah Murray we have spoken in vol. i., pp. 258, 268, 338, 420; and of Samuel Smith in this chapter.

Nathaniel Stacy was "an Israelite, indeed, in whom was no guile." His parents, he tells us, "were some of the earliest hearers of John Murray, in Gloucester, and became rationally convinced of the truth of his doctrine." Mr. Stacy fitted for the ministry in the study of Rev. Hosea Ballou, and preached his first sermon in Dana, Mass., in November, 1802. After preaching, in alternation with school-teaching, till the spring of 1805, he moved to Central New York, where for many years he was "instant, in season and out of season," in successful ministerial labors. Mr. Smith (Historical Sketches, i., p. 11) gives him the deserved praise of being "a good man, and a most faithful, persevering, and devoted minister." Leaving Hamilton, N. Y., in 1830, Mr. Stacy took up a farm in Columbus, Pennsylvania; but in 1835 went to Ann Arbor, Michigan, and after remaining there five years returned to Columbus, where he made his home during the remainder of his earthly life, though taking many and long journeys to visit friends and preach in old fields of labor. His death occurred on the 4th of April, 1868, when he was in his ninetieth year. In 1850 he gave his Memoirs to the world, — one of the most fascinating and instructive biographies ever brought to our notice, — from

which we have already largely drawn, and shall continue to draw, for reliable facts concerning men and events.

Abner Kneeland was about thirty years of age when he received the fellowship of the Convention in 1803. He had been a Baptist, and had publicly improved in that church for a season, but had never been regularly inducted into the ministry according to their rules. "He was generally," says Mr. Stacy (Memoirs, p. 89), "the echo of the last author he read." At the time of his receiving fellowship, continues Mr. Stacy, —

"Mr. Kneeland had formed no acquaintance with Universalist preachers; he had probably never heard three discourses on the doctrine, and it appears to me that he said he had never heard a preacher of our order. But he had read Mr. Winchester's writings, and became a convert to his theory of Universalism. He was a perfect Winchesterian. Whatever Mr. Winchester had published that Mr. K. believed in, that he preached; and he could illustrate and defend that, and nothing else. . . . At the Convention he became acquainted with Mr. Ballou, heard him preach, and had conversation with him; and it was not six months from this time before he renounced Winchesterianism and became a complete Ballouite; and preached Mr. Ballou's theory with as much zeal as he ever did Mr. Winchester's, with vastly more eloquence and soundness of argument. He continued in this faith until he left the ministry, went into mercantile business, broke down, resumed his sacerdotal functions, and settled as pastor of the society in New Hartford, Oneida County, N. Y. There he was so unfortunate as to fall in with Dr. Joseph Priestley's writings on Materialism. This was something new to Mr. K., and he devoured it at once, and became a most zealous Materialist. He preached it with all his eloquence, and defended it by all

the arguments he was master of, both in private and in public; and he continued to do so, to the great disadvantage of the cause of divine truth, in that region, until he removed to Philadelphia. . . . There he resumed the publication of his beloved theory of Materialism both in the desk, and through the medium of a periodical which he there established. While Mr. Kneeland resided in Philadelphia the celebrated Robert Owen visited that city, and lectured on his theory of social community. Mr. K. attended his lectures, became personally acquainted with him, and a convert to his system of social community; and, no doubt, became tinctured with his atheistical sentiments; for shortly after that, Mr. K.'s hearers began, from the tenor of his discourse and some particular expressions he made use of, to distrust his fidelity to the Christian religion. And after he removed to the city of New York, before he finally abjured all religion, he was once or twice called to account by some of his parishioners for his sceptical remarks, and a presentment was once made to the Association."

Rev. Mr. Thomas, in his "Century of Universalism," gives a full account of Mr. Kneeland's career in New York and Philadelphia, and while doing full justice to the sad fact of his falling away into atheism, adds: "His moral character was as clear of blemish as we can reasonably hope to see anywhere." Mr. Kneeland died, in his seventy-first year, at Salubria, Iowa, Aug. 27, 1844.

By far the most important business transacted by the New England Convention in 1803 was the adoption of the "Profession of Belief and Plan of the General Association." Allusion has already been made in this chapter to a tradition among us which assigns as the cause of the adoption of this statement of belief the

legal difficulties of Christopher Erskine; it being argued that the lack of a profession of faith prevented the recognition of Universalists as a legal sect by the courts of New Hampshire. The ruling of the courts does not support this theory, the question of belief not being entertained in their decisions. If the members of the Convention in 1802–3 supposed, therefore, that an avowal of belief was to give them a legal status, they were in error. But we are not able to discover from their records, nor from their subsequent efforts for legal standing, that they entertained this mistaken supposition. This theory of legal necessity for their action in adopting the Profession of Belief seems to us to have been an afterthought, — a confounding in their recollection of things that at the time of discussion on them in the Convention were entirely distinct. The case of Christopher Erskine was considered by the Convention, involving, we have no doubt, considerable debate; the Profession of Belief was also discussed; the plan of the General Association was considered at length, and several alterations made in it; the subject of an address to the believers in New Hampshire was no doubt debated, as was also the motion to petition the Legislature "for the relief of Christopher Erskine," and to present a "memorial in behalf of the fulness of the body of Universalists in New Hampshire." If the Convention knew what the ground taken by the courts was, they could not have failed to see that to make themselves a sect distinct from the Congregationalists, they must have a form of organization differing from that of the Congregationalists; and that the "Plan of the General Association," as proposed by their committee, would or would not make

such a difference. The necessity for their doing something that would give them legal relief lay in this direction, and not in that of creed-making; and our tradition is at fault and worthless in that it ignores this distinction.

Now, what says the record with regard to the incitement to the adoption of the "Profession of Belief, and Plan of the General Association?" This is the statement of the proceedings on this subject at the session in 1802: —

"On motion of Brother Walter Ferriss, and the Churches of Charlotte, Hinesburg, and Monkton, a committee was appointed to form a plan of fellowship in faith and practice, for the edifying of the body, and building it up together."

These churches were located in Vermont, and Mr. Ferriss was their minister. Was there anything in the laws or usages in Vermont which would have led these delegates from that State to move the appointment of such a committee, and which was met by the adoption of that committee's report? And if so, may not the recollection of the debate on it, when revived and given to the public, twenty, thirty, and in one case more than forty years after, have been confounded with the debate on obstacles in New Hampshire?[1]

Perhaps so. The laws of Vermont provided for the setting apart of a section of land called "The Minister's Right," to the first-settled ordained minister in any town. The fact of ordination, therefore, was a very

[1] See the statements and opinions of Revs. Edward Turner, Nathaniel Stacy, and Hosea Ballou, quoted in "The Universalist Quarterly," April, 1876, pp. 149–154.

important fact, and must be a well-established one. But usage in that State had created a rule, if not in law, at least in custom, that the regularity of ordination should be determined by conformity to some rule established by the denomination to which the minister belonged. Certificates of ordination were demanded, and the standing order of that State was constantly making trouble if such certificates could not be produced, or if, when furnished, they seemed to show any irregularities of mode in persons claiming to be of the same religious sect. Hence Rev. Caleb Rich, although ordained in New Hampshire in 1781, was obliged to be re-ordained on his removal to Vermont, twenty-two years after; and Rev. Hosea Ballou, ordained in Massachusetts, in 1794, was re-ordained on settling in Vermont in 1803; Rev. Walter Ferriss, himself, had his right to marry people disputed, although he had been ordained in Vermont in 1801.[1] And

"'Rev. James Babbit, of Jericho, Vermont, prayed counsel,' of the Convention in 1803, 'as it respected an affair of secular importance, on a point of law interesting to newly-settled ministers and their legal privileges.'"[2]

By the law of Vermont enacted in 1797, —

"Every Ordained Minister of the Gospel, in the county in which he is settled, and hath his permanent residence, and in no other place, shall be authorized and empowered to solemnize marriages."

[1] Rev. W. S. Balch's Memoir of Caleb Rich, "Universalist Quarterly" for July, 1872, p. 73.

[2] In a sketch of the History of Jericho, written for the "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," by George Lee Lyman, M. D., it is said: "Universalists were among the original settlers. . . . Mr. Kingsbury (Congregationalist) obtained the 'minister's right.'"

But in 1800 this was changed as follows: —

"Whereas irregular itinerant preachers, under pretence of being Ordained Ministers of the Gospel, residing in some remote part of the country from that in which the parties live, may practice imposition on such parties, or their parents and friends, and the marriages by them solemnized be wholly illegal and void: which evil to prevent, It is hereby enacted, &c., That all Ordained Ministers of the Gospel, of whatever sect or denomination, who are regularly settled as such, in any town in this State, shall be, and they are hereby authorized and empowered to solemnize marriages, within the limits of the town in which they reside, and in no other place."

This law was in force till 1806. It would have been natural, therefore, if the Vermont ministers and churches should have desired the formal establishment of some definite rule in regard to ordination; and the one adopted by the Convention was doubtless sufficiently definite to meet the requirements of the law and custom of Vermont. It at least set forth and established this fact, that "ordinations conducted at such times and in such places and manner as attendant circumstances and good order require," were recognized by the New England Convention of Universalists as regular and valid.

The rights of the laity in Vermont in matters of exemption from taxation for the support of religious societies with which they did not sympathize, seem to have been amply secured and protected. From 1797 to 1801 it was provided that a man should be taxed to support the religion professed by a majority of the inhabitants of the parish where he resides, unless he obtained a certificate —

"signed by some Minister of the Gospel, Deacon, Elder, Moderator, or Clerk of the Church, Congregation, Sect, or Denomination to which he belongs . . . which certificate shall make known the person procuring the same to be of the religious opinion or sentiment of the signer thereof, and to what Sect or denomination of Christians he belongs."

This was changed in 1801 to requiring such persons to deliver to the clerk of the town or parish this declaration, with his name thereto subscribed: —

"I do not agree in religious opinion with a majority of the inhabitants of this town, or parish, as the case may be."

If, therefore, we seek for a local reason as influencing Ferriss and the Vermont churches in desiring a change in the plan of government, we shall find it in the peculiarities of their position on the subject of ordination, which affected the rights of their ministers, and through them, the rights of the churches. Should it be said that the Philadelphia plan which the New England Convention had already adopted (see vol. i., pp. 297, 432), settled this matter of ordination by leaving it to each church, it is sufficient reply that the New England Convention had departed from that rule in various ways, and was by special votes making innovations and changes each year (see vol. i., p. 535, also preceding pages in this chapter); and that what the circumstances of the Vermont brethren required was, that whatever the modes were the Convention, as representing the denominational interests of the several New England States, should, by law or rule, declare them all regular and valid.

The report of the committee, consisting of Revs. Z. Streeter, G. Richards, H. Ballou, W. Ferriss, and Z. Lathe, was as follows, — the original report in the handwriting of Rev. Walter Ferriss being literally copied, and the changes adopted by the Convention being also noted: —

"The Association of Universalists of the New England States, at their Convention holden at Winchester, in New Hampshire, on the 21st and 22d of September, A. D. 1803."

[This the Convention changed to, —

"The Churches and Societies of Universalists of the New England States, assembled in General Convention, holden," etc.]

"To the individuals of the several Churches and Societies, and to all persons whom it may concern, Greeting.

"Brethren and Friends, Whereas the diversities of capacity and of opportunity for obtaining information, together with many attendant circumstances, have occasioned among the sincere professors of the Abrahamic faith some diversities of opinion concerning some points of doctrine and modes of practice, we, therefore, think it expedient, in order to prevent confusion and misunderstanding, and to promote the edifying and building up of the Church together in love, to record and publish that *Profession of Belief* which we agree in as essential, and that plan of ecclesiastical fellowship and general subordination which we as a Christian Association conceive we ought to maintain.

Profession of Belief.

Article the First.

"We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character

of God, and of the duty, interest and final destination of mankind.

Article the Second.

"We believe that there is one God, whose nature is Love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

Article the Third.

"We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that we ought to be careful to maintain good order, and practice good works; for these things are good and profitable to men."

[The Convention amended Article Third by making a few verbal alterations, so that it reads: —

"We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practice good works, for these things are good and profitable unto men."]

"As we believe these to be truths which deeply concern the honor of the divine character and the interests of man, we hereby declare that we continue to consider ourselves and our associates in fellowship, a sect or denomination of Christians distinct and separate from those who do not adopt the whole of this Profession of Belief and unite with us in our Association."

[This paragraph was amended by inserting the word "do" between the words "we" and "hereby," by striking out the words "sect or," and by striking out the words "who do not adopt the whole of this Profession of Belief and unite with us in our Association," and inserting, "who do not approve the whole of this *Pro-*

fession of Belief, as expressed in the three above Articles."]

"And as a distinct denomination, we continue to claim the authority of exercising among ourselves that ecclesiastical discipline for the glory of God in the good of the Church, which Christianity requires."

[The Convention struck out the words, "ecclesiastical discipline," and inserted the word "order."]

"And we continue to claim the external privileges, which, according to the free Constitution of our country, every denomination is entitled to enjoy.

"Yet while we, as an Association, adopt a general *Profession of Belief* and *Plan of Church Government*, we leave it to the several Churches and Societies, or to smaller associations of churches, if such should be formed, within the limits of our General Association, to continue or adopt within themselves, such more particular articles of faith, or modes of discipline, as may appear to them best under their particular circumstances, provided they do not disagree with our general *Profession* and *Plan*.

"And while we consider that every Church possesses within itself all the powers of self-government, we earnestly and affectionately recommend it to every Church, Society, or particular Association, to exercise the spirit of Christian meekness and charity towards those who have different modes of faith or practice, that where the brethren cannot see alike, they may agree to differ; and let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.

Plan of the General Association.

"Section 1st. The General Association of Universalists of the *New England States* shall hold a Convention

once a year, at such time and place as shall have been appointed by the preceding Convention.

"Section 2d. Each society approving our general *Profession* and *Plan*, and manifesting a desire for the increase and support of gospel light and order, shall have a right to send to the Convention a delegate or delegates, who shall hold our general *Profession of Belief*, and support a sober, moral character, and such delegates shall be received as members of the Convention.

"Section 3d. Those ordained Ministers and licensed Preachers of the Gospel who have received the fellowship of the Association, shall be considered as members of each Convention at which they attend, while they remain in that fellowship, whether they produce credentials from any society, or not.

"Section 4th. The unanimous consent of the members present shall be necessary to the reception of any new member who is neither a minister nor preacher in fellowship, nor a delegate producing credentials from some Church, Society, or particular Association."

[The words "unanimous consent" were struck out, and the words "consent of a majority" were put in their place.]

"Section 5th. Each member of the Convention shall be entitled to one vote in every matter to be determined, except those in which the Societies represented ought to have equal privileges, such as determining the place for holding the next Convention, or any other matter which a majority of the Convention shall judge to be of a similar nature in this respect; in such cases each society represented shall be considered as having no more than *one voice*, and each person voting shall be considered as representing no more than *one Society*."

[In the sentence "each society represented shall be

considered," etc., the Convention struck out the word "represented."]

"Section 6th. The business of a General Convention, when met, shall be:

"To choose a Presiding Elder, Clerk, and other Officers, if necessary.

"To examine into the state of particular Societies, Churches, or Associations, and to give or withhold, continue or withdraw their fellowship, as may be necessary."

[The Convention added, after the word "Associations," the words "on due representation."]

"To look over the conduct of the members of the Association, especially those who labor in word and doctrine, and approve or rebuke, or deny fellowship, as occasion may require.

"To examine into the qualifications of ministers, preachers, or other individuals who appear [as] candidates for the fellowship of the Association, and give or withhold that fellowship, as may appear best.

"To appoint, and hear the reports of, particular committees, and determine concerning them.

"And to adopt all such measures in their power as may tend to the promotion of general order, instruction and edification.

"Section 7th. The unanimous concurrence of the members shall be necessary to giving fellowship to a preacher or ordaining a minister at the first General Convention at which such license or Ordination shall be requested; and at all times the concurrence of at least three fourths shall be necessary. The same rule shall be observed with regard to giving fellowship to a Society, Church, or Association."

[This section was not adopted by the Convention.]

"Section 8th. Ordinations during the recess of the Convention shall be conducted as heretofore, at such times and in such places and manner as attendant circumstances and good order may require, and due and seasonable report thereof shall be made to the Association, in Convention.

"Section 9th. The General Association, and particular Associations and Churches, in all cases are required to look for those qualifications in their Officers which the Scriptures of the New Testament have made requisite, particularly Matthew, chapter xxviii., verses 19th and 20th, and the 3d and 4th chapters of the first Epistle to Timothy; and they are referred to the same sacred books for directions how to deal with offenders, particularly Matthew xviii., 15th, 21st, and Luke xvii., 3d and 4th."

[The only change made in these sections was in numbering them "7th" and "8th" respectively.]

"Section 10th. The vote of three fourths of the members present at a General Convention shall be necessary to withdraw the fellowship of the Association from any society, minister or preacher that has ever received that fellowship."

[This was not adopted.]

"Section 11th. The General Association disclaims all authority for passing any further judgment against any offending particular Association, Society, Church, or individual, than the mere withdrawing of fellowship.

"Section 12th. The Association reserves to itself, under the direction of that divine wisdom which was to accompany the followers of Christ to the end of the world, the right of making hereafter such alterations of this General Plan of the Association as circumstances may require."

[This was amended by making the sections the "9th" and "10th," and by adding to section 10th the words, "But there is *no alteration* of any part of the three Articles that contain the *Profession of our Belief* ever to be made at any future period."]

Following the record of this in the Journal of Proceedings is this certificate of the adoption of the committee's report: —

"By the General Convention of the Universal Churches and Societies, ratification in total: The above, and all and every part thereof, having been deliberately read, maturely considered, and seriously investigated, was accepted of and passed by the unanimous vote of all present. In solemn witness whereof, the Presiding Elder, and Clerk, and Assistant Reader have affixed their respective signatures.

"Zebulon Streeter, *Presiding Elder.*
"Noah Murray, *Clerk.*
"Edward Turner, *Assistant Reader.*

"Winchester, N. H., Sept. 23, 1803."

The printed minutes contain more. It was the custom for many years to publish an abstract of the proceedings and the Circular Letter each year soon after the session; but no attempt was made to record the proceedings in a book till 1811, at which time Rev. A. Kneeland was appointed "standing clerk," [1] with instructions "to collect, if possible, all the proceedings of

[1] Mr. Kneeland held the office until 1815. His successors have been, Rev. Messrs. Edward Turner, 1815–1824; Hosea Ballou 2d, 1824–1839; John M. Austin, 1839–1859; Richard Eddy, 1859–1867; E. G. Brooks, D. D., 1867–1869; James M. Pullman, 1869–1877; G. L. Demarest, D. D., the present incumbent, elected in 1877.

the Convention since that body has existed, with the Circular Letters annually issued, and to record the whole, and from year to year to make record of all such transactions in a suitable book, to be purchased at the charge of the Convention." What Mr. Kneeland omitted in copying the printed document of 1803 is the following: —

"Approved in Total: Joab Young, Ministering at Strafford, Vermont; Ebenezer Paine, Ministering at Washington, N. H.; Miles T. Wooley, Ministering at large; Edmund Pillsbury, Ministering at Northwood, N. H.; William Farewell, Ministering at Charlestown, N. H.; Cyrus Gray Parsons [Cornelius Grey Person], Ministering at Windsor, Vermont; Samuel Smith, Ministering at Salisbury, Connecticut; Joshua Flagg, Ministering at Dana, Massachusetts.

"Approving Elders and Messengers:

"Ezekiel Powers, Samuel Brown, Ebenezer Cheeney, John Haskell, Amos Wendall, Nathaniel Stacy, Asa Lawrence, Joseph Wakefield, Chandler Rogers, David Castine, George Simmons, James Walker, Daniel Griffis, Col. Copeland, Samuel Williams, Wales Cheeny, Levi Maxcy, David Needham, Jonathan Page, Oliver Noies, Paul Mason, George Beckwith, Samuel Parrett, Joel Amesdon, Samuel Murdock, Samuel Cotton, Stephen Powers.

"Dissentients: Noah Murray and Solomon Glover."

It is somewhat remarkable that none of the names of the committee appear in this list, and with the exception of Noah Murray, none of the names of the officers of the Convention. Thirty-eight societies were represented by delegates, — fifteen of them by ministers, one by N. Stacy, a "Candidate for the Ministry," and twenty-two

by laymen. The societies and their representatives were: Charlton, Sturbridge, Rev. Edward Turner; New Marlboro, Tyringham, Rev. Samuel Smith; Bernard, Rev. Hosea Ballou; Goshen, Lenox, Stockbridge, Pittsfield, Rev. Miles T. Wooley; Dana, Rev. Joshua Flagg; Portsmouth, Rev. George Richards; Hinesburg, Rev. Walter Ferriss; Washington, Rev. Ebenezer Paine; Newton, Rev. Samuel Glover; Grafton, Rev. Zephaniah Lathe; Benson, Rev. N. Stacy; Orange, Ebenezer Cheeney; Winchester, John Haskell; Boston, Deacon Emmons; Bridgewater, Amos Wendall [or Mendall]; Andover, Samuel Brown; Salisbury, Asa Lawrence; West Briton, Paul Mason; Windsor, Joseph Wakefield; Croydon, Ezekiel Powers; Bereans (probably from Boston), John Fillebrown; New Haven, Chandler Rogers; Bethel, Deacon David Castine; Woodstock, George Simmons; Rockingham, James Walker; Monkton, Deacon Daniel Griffis; Hartland, Samuel Williams; Milford, Wales Cheeney; Swansey, Levi Maxcy; South Brimfield, David Needham; North Henniker, Jonathan Page; North Hopkinton, Oliver Noies [or Noyes]; Stoddard, Col. Copeland. Ministers present, not delegates, were, Zebulon Streeter, of Surry, Mass.; Noah Murray, of Tioga Point, Penn.; Joab Young, of Strafford, Vt.; David Ballou, of Mass.; Edmund Pillsbury, of Northwood, N. H.; William Farewell, of Charlestown, N. H.; Samuel Hilliard, of Cornish, N. H.

We introduce here, as throwing some light on the discussion preceding the vote, and as intimating that the report was chiefly the work of Rev. Walter Ferriss, the following extract from his diary, — the only leaf of the book that is known to be in existence, and which

we received from his son, Mr. Walter M. Ferriss, recently deceased: —

"I arrived at Winchester on the 20th. I had not, before my arrival at Winchester, been favored with an opportunity to consult with all the brethren of the committee appointed with me at the preceding Convention to draw up a plan of fellowship. I had drawn one however, and brought it with me. It was not so particular in some respects, both with regard to doctrine and ecclesiastical regulations as I could have wished. It was however, as full as I had reason to hope the brethren of the Convention at large would agree to accept. And I thought it would be much better than none, especially as I had so drawn it as to leave liberty to the several churches or to smaller associations of churches, if such should be formed within the limits of the general association, to adopt any more full or particular plan as they should see best, provided it was not contradictory to the general plan. When I proposed this plan which I had drawn to the rest of the committee, they agreed to it with very little amendment, and laid it before the Convention, which was the most numerous I had ever attended. When it was laid before the Convention I had the pleasure of seeing it instantly assented to by the brethren who had opposed me the year before at Strafford. They saw nothing in it of the tendency to divide the association, which they had been afraid of, but were convinced that it would rather tend to strengthen our union. But the Rev. Noah Murray, from the north part of Pennsylvania, who had never before attended one of our Conventions, though he had long been a preacher of our order, objected in a new and singular manner against having any written form at all. He said much on the subject, and enlivened his pleas by quaint similitudes, drawn from calves, bulls, half bushels, etc., in which I thought

he displayed more wit than solid sense, and more pathos than sound reasoning. But as he was a venerable old preacher, a man of real natural abilities, and possessed in some degree of a winning address, he was followed immediately by a number of other brethren who had not attended at Strafford the year before, amongst whom was the Rev. Mr. Glover, of Newtown in Connecticut. These brethren all seemed to approve of the plan which we had produced, as to its substance both with regard to doctrine and external regulations, but argued that it would be of no utility, if not of dangerous tendency, to commit, that or any other form" —

Unfortunately this sentence cannot be completed.[1] It was felt by some that Noah Murray's opposition was

[1] In forwarding this leaf from the diary, in 1876, Mr. W. M. Ferriss wrote : "My father at his death left all his papers with my mother ; and several years afterwards one of my uncles, who was a Universalist, came to Vermont from New York, and when he returned, took with him my father's papers on religious matters, with the intention of having them or a part of them published ; but unfortunately they were destroyed by the burning of a house. . . . After my mother's death, twenty-six years ago, what remained of my father's papers went into the care of my older brother, then living in New York City. He died fourteen years ago, and after his death there were sent to me several trunks, containing books and old papers. I found in one trunk what seemed to be waste paper, and in looking it over saw what appeared to be a leaf taken from a book, and recognized it at once as the handwriting of my father ; and of course I read it, and strange to say, it relates to the Creed adopted in 1803. There is no date on the paper, but in my opinion it establishes the fact that Walter Ferriss was the Author of the Creed adopted in 1803. When I found the paper, fourteen years ago, I did not think it would be of use to anybody, but kept it as a relic. I send it to you, and you may rely upon its having been written by my father. I know his handwriting, and the paper speaks for itself." A short time after writing thus, Mr. Ferriss found, and sent me the full copy of the Committee's report, as noted above, also written by his father, and attested by his autograph. These original papers he very cheerfully donated to the Universalist Historical Society.

uncalled for, especially as he was only a visitor, not a member of the Convention, though by courtesy placed in the position of clerk of the session. There was, it would seem, some difference of opinion — whether on matters of doctrine or purely personal does not appear — discussed between himself and Rev. Hosea Ballou, concerning which Rev. George Richards had much to say in a letter to Rev. Edward Turner, "April 2, 1804." After criticising Mr. Ballou's course, Mr. Richards adds: "I am free to confess that Brother M [urray] was equally wrong in his high-handed opposition to the Articles of Faith, for it was a subject of which he could not judge, and with which he had no manner of business; but feeling a little like David when Joab besieged Rabbah, he determined to put us under the axes and harrows of his *wit*, and to pass us thro' a brick-kiln whose fires himself had kindled."[1]

It will be noticed, in examining the list of those who voted on the adoption of the Articles and Plan, that the names of Deacon Emmons, delegate from the Boston Church, and John Fillebrown, representing the Bereans (a literary and critical society connected with the same church, and publishers of a periodical called "The Berean"), are absent. This is probably accounted for by the fact that (see vol. i., p. 347) they were already committed to a creed slightly differing from the one proposed by the Convention.

Looking at the avowed purpose of the Profession and Plan of Organization, as set forth in the motion for the appointment of a committee at the session in 1802, and distinctly repeated in the preamble to the Articles in

[1] Universalist Quarterly, July, 1872, pp. 284, 285.

the committee's report, we find the only motive for their action that is matter of record. As already shown, local reasons in the State of Vermont may have been an element in inciting this action; but the avowed purpose was to secure an expression of uniformity of belief in fundamentals, and uniformity in modes of associated action. The "Committee was appointed to form a plan of fellowship in faith and practice;" and they reported their Profession and Plan because there are "among the sincere professors of the Abrahamic faith some diversities of opinion concerning some points of doctrine and modes of practice;" and they "therefore think it expedient, in order to prevent confusion and misunderstanding, and to promote the edifying and building up of the Church together in love, to record and publish that Profession of Belief which we agree in as essential, and that plan of ecclesiastical fellowship and general subordination which we as a Christian Association conceive we ought to maintain."

Some of these "diversities of views" have been dwelt upon in this chapter; but more of them are brought forward in vol. i. John Murray, who in 1803 probably stood alone among the preachers as a Rellyan, had, no doubt, quite a following among the laymen, and had brought many to the assurance and comfort of the doctrine of Universalism through his theory of the mystical union of Christ with humanity (see vol. i., pp. 151, 359, 481). Elhanan Winchester, and probably a majority of the preachers who survived him, had brought many to believe in the restoration of all souls to holiness, after long periods of suffering for sin (as see vol. i., pp. 247–250). Caleb Rich, with his peculiar views, —

probably shared at that time by Hosea Ballou (as see vol. i., p. 172), — was teaching that all punishment for sin is confined to this life. Abel Sarjent, the pioneer in advocating Unitarian in opposition to Trinitarian views of God, had influenced many in the South and West, and even in New England his sentiments were known (vol. i., p. 438). Hosea Ballou was also exerting great influence in spreading Unitarian views; and as is evident from Mr. Murray's letters and other criticisms (quoted at length in various parts of vol. i., as see index), and is manifest also from facts adduced in this chapter, these "diversities of views" were producing coldness and alienation. The Winchester Profession of Belief was a general statement of faith, in which all could join without the compromise of individual convictions, and which all could therefore unite in defending. While it was sufficiently definite to exclude the possibility of mistaking its most prominent thought, the reconciliation of all souls to God, it was sufficiently liberal in all its statements to be acceptable alike to Trinitarian and Unitarian, to the believer in future punishment, and to the believer that the consequences of sin are confined to this life.

It has been suggested that the expression "who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness," was of the nature of a concession to the believers in future punishment, — the followers of Elhanan Winchester; but this does not appear simply from the use of the word "restore," on which use the suggestion is sometimes based; because, while Mr. Winchester, in the title of his "Dialogues," and elsewhere, called his theory that of "The Universal Restoration;"

and while "restore" and "restoration" were the words which he used more often than he did any others to express his idea of the process or the result of the sinner's reconciliation to God, he did not employ these to the exclusion of other terms, but almost as frequently used the words "save" and "salvation," and regarded them as synonyms of the others. Mr. Murray's preferred words in setting forth his theory were "redeem" and "redemption;" and as we have seen (vol. i., p. 159), he sometimes made a distinction between "redemption" and "salvation;" but he often (as see vol. i., pp. 160–163) ignored this distinction, and sometimes employed the words "restore" and "restoration." Mr. Ballou, in his "Treatise on the Atonement," — published not many months after this session of the Convention, and probably expressing the views held by him in 1803, — made most frequent use of the words "save" and "salvation," but he almost as often employed the words "restore" and "restoration," and without any distinction in their significance. We may therefore dismiss any supposition that the use of the word "restore" was regarded as a concession or compromise; for it was the word of all others which expressed the general belief of the final result of God's government, whenever, or in the use of whatever instrumentalities, that result should be reached. The Profession of Belief involved no compromise, but was a general concession that whoever professed, as matters of faith, its brief statement of fundamentals, was entitled to the Universalist name and fellowship, no matter what his peculiar views in regard to the ways and means, and the time of the harmony of all human wills with the will of God might be.

In the new plan of organization one noticeable thing, distinguishing it from the Plan of Church Government adopted in 1794, was that it was a plan for the government of the Association, while the latter was for the government of individual churches only. It provided, indeed, for what it called "The Communion of Churches" in annual convention, but it made no provision for the officers or organization of the Convention, nor for the voice or vote of any church represented in the Convention (see vol. i., pp. 300–302). And its Plan for the Churches was, in the language of the Circular Letter which accompanied its publication, "nearly that of the Congregational Church." The "Plan of the General Association" adopted at Winchester, repealed no portion of the previously-adopted "Plan of Church Government," but expressly recognized the fact that "every Church possesses within itself all the powers of self-government." In so far, then, it reaffirmed the Congregational character of the Universalist churches or societies, and did not seek, even by recommendation, to make them religious organizations which the courts could recognize as different and distinct from any other Congregational societies.

What the "Plan of the General Association" set forth for determining the manner in which that body should be composed, organized, transact its business, and exercise authority over its own members, was but little, if any, at variance, theoretically, with the Congregationalism which it recognized in the separate churches, while practically it established no law for the denomination at large; for the Philadelphia Convention and the churches composing it went on in all respects as

before; the "Particular Associations" which speedily arose granted letters of fellowship, conferred ordination, were each a final court in matters of discipline, and generally exercised co-ordinate powers with the General Association; and the churches continued to conduct their affairs independently of each other and of the Association.

No record of a session of the Philadelphia Convention in 1804 has been preserved. Perhaps no meeting was held.

A new Association was organized in June, this year, at Jericho, Vermont. Parties interested in its establishment sought counsel of the New England Convention the previous year, and secured the appointment of Revs. Zebulon Streeter, Hosea Ballou, and Joab Young, to visit and advise with them, and assist in the organization. The name of the new body was the "Northern Association." The territorial limits were somewhat indefinite, but seem to have embraced the State of Vermont, a part of New Hampshire, and a part of New York.

The New England Convention met September 19, at Sturbridge, Mass. Revs. Abner Kneeland and Samuel Smith received ordination. Rev. Miles T. Wooley, who had spent several preceding months in Central New York, attended the Convention, bringing a favorable report of his labors, and of the call for preachers in that section of the State. He was confident that if preachers could be sent to that region the truth would rapidly spread, and many societies would be organized. To favor the cause in that State, and dispose societies which might be organized to unite more readily with

the great body of Universalists, Mr. Wooley suggested a change in the name of the Convention, and it was resolved that hereafter the title should be "The General Convention of Universalists of the New England States and others." [1] The Convention also

"attended to a request from the brethren at Cooperstown, N. Y., for advice, and voted to advise Br. M. T. Wooley to assist them in organizing into society relation; and to do his endeavors, by the help of God, to form societies in those western parts, and make due representation at the next General Session."

In 1804 Rev. Hosea Ballou wrote and published a pamphlet of eighty pages, entitled "Notes on the Parables of the New Testament." He was at that time settled in Barnard, Vt., but was extending his labors into other sections of the State, and frequently making long journeys for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel. His son says that —

"at the time he wrote the 'Notes,' he had been overtasked, and so much so as to materially affect his health. The roads about the country were of a very poor character, and being unable to use a vehicle on many of the routes over which he passed, he was frequently obliged to accomplish his journeys on horseback, which was a severe draft on his strength." [2]

In the preface to this edition of the "Notes," Mr. Ballou thus alludes to the motive of his writing on the Parables: —

[1] Memoir of Rev. N. Stacy, p. 97.

[2] Biography of Rev. Hosea Ballou, by his youngest son, Maturin M. Ballou, p. 75.

"In my travels through the country in discharge of duties enjoined by the ministry of the Saviour of sinners, I have met with more opposition to the Gospel preached to Abraham, from false notions of the Parables of the New Testament, than from any other quarter. Often, after travelling many miles and preaching several sermons in a day, I have found it necessary to explain several parables to some inquiring hearer, when my strength seemed almost exhausted. At such times, I have thought that a pamphlet, such as the reader has in his hand, might save me much labor. And I have often said to myself, if God will give me a few weeks' leisure, I will (with His assistance) employ them in writing Notes on the Parables. This favor has at last been granted, though it was by depriving me of that degree of health which was necessary to the performance of those journeys which I had already appointed; yet preserving so much as to render me composed in my study.

"I am persuaded that a just knowledge of the Parables is almost indispensably necessary to a knowledge of the doctrine preached by Christ, as much of his public communication was in this way. It is in the Parables of Christ that we learn the nature of the two dispensations, or covenants; the situation of man by reason of sin; the character of the Saviour as the seeker and saviour of that which was lost; the power of the gospel as a sovereign remedy for the moral maladies of man, and its divine efficacy in reconciling and assimilating the sinner with God. It is by the Parables that we learn the unprofitableness of legal righteousness in point of justification to eternal life; the absolute necessity of becoming new creatures, in order to enter the kingdom of God; the true character of the Saviour, as the Lord our righteousness, and his divine power to make all things new.

"And I may add to the above considerations many friendly requests from respectable brethren in the min-

istry, and many of my hearers who have made themselves partially acquainted with my manner of explaining the Parables."

There can be no doubt, considering the prevalent Calvinistic theory of interpretation, that the Parables contained many things which our early brethren found it difficult to explain in harmony with the new faith. Rev. George Richards, in a letter written just after the publication of Mr. Ballou's pamphlet, probably expressed what many others experienced, when he said of it, "Pray send me one, as I am desirous to peruse anything on the dark sayings of Jesus [concerning] which, although he is able to open on the 'harp of Joy,' I confess and feel my inability in many instances."[1] Having received and read a copy of the "Notes," he wrote: "I think there are many things to commend in them, much to be thought of with serious sobriety, and perhaps as little to censure as could be reasonably expected. . . . Ballou has certainly a strong and a daring mind, and he soars, like the eagle, amid the heavens of invention."[2]

Mr. Ballou approached his investigations of the Parables under the influence of the theory then in his thought, — that man made in the Divine Image, as to his higher nature, was created, by virtue of his flesh and blood, under a law of condemnation, and was subject to a carnal guidance. There are also traces of Rellyan and Mystical views. In their earthly character all men were sinners, and no man in or by his carnal

[1] Letters of Murray and Richards. Universalist Quarterly, July, 1872, p. 288.

[2] Ibid., pp. 292, 293.

mind could bring forth good fruit (Notes, p. 8). Adam died in the day of his transgression; and as he was the root from which mankind sprung, they sprung from a spiritually dead root. Hence he asked, "If we sprang from a spiritually dead root can we possess any spiritual life derived from that root?" Consequently he held that man in his Adamic nature — his earthly nature, denoted by the carnal mind — cannot perform any acceptable works of righteousness. But man has a spiritual as well as an earthly side, and it was to redeem the soul from the dominion of the carnal mind that Jesus was sent into the world (p. 69). The Pharisees sought to make themselves righteous by performing the mere ceremonies of the law (p. 43), and hence had not on the wedding garment, which was the righteousness of Christ (p. 31). "As they stood in their law character they were a generation of vipers, as is every child of Adam in the earthly character" (p. 8).

Nothing in this first edition indicates what his views were with regard to future punishment, and it would not be safe to hazard an opinion as to what his thoughts really were at that time on this subject. It is certain that he was giving it consideration, possibly was entertaining doubts of its truth, but he was silent with regard to his doubts.

The Antinomian tenets in which he had been educated no doubt influenced and embarrassed him at this time; and these, together with his theory of the difference between man's being made and his being created, must be borne in mind in considering his views as put forth in the first edition. Gradually he travelled away from these early views, but no revision was made of the

"Notes" till the publication of the fifth edition in 1832.[1] In the preface to this edition the author thus alludes to his work in 1804:—

"At this period the light which has now become general among the unprejudiced seekers after the true knowledge of the Scriptures, was as the dawning of the day. With limited discoveries and destitute of necessary resources, the author, at the commencement of improvement in knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, attempted a work, to do justice to which would require attainments and talents to which, after so long a time, he has not the vanity to lay any claims. And yet, the humble hope which he so long ago entertained, and which was expressed in the preface to the first edition, has been abundantly realized. The work has unquestionably been a means in the hand of Providence, of leading many minds to valuable improvements in the knowledge of the Scriptures. It certainly has exerted an influence far more extensive than the most flattering hopes of the author held to view, at the time it was written."

There was published in Philadelphia in 1804 a work bearing the title, "Letters on the Existence and Character of the Deity, and on the Moral State of Man. By Thomas Dobson." This work was in two volumes, 18mo., aggregating 310 pages. The author was a book-publisher "at the Stone House, No. 41 South second street." He was a native of Scotland, born in 1750, but had resided in Philadelphia since 1784. He was a man of good education and of great industry in literary

[1] The second edition was published in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1812; the third in Hallowell, Me., in 1822; the fourth, we do not know where nor when; the fifth, in Boston, in 1832; and the sixth, as vol. ii. of "Ballou's Select Works," in Boston, in 1854.

fields, and published a large number of useful books, among which — quite famous in its day — was "Dobson's Encylopædia," which he also edited. Two chapters in his "Letters" are on "Universal Reconciliation," and in these he advocates Universalism with great ability, both from its Scriptural and from its rational grounds. His conclusion is that —

"From the general scope of divine revelation, it plainly appears that all the dispensations of God, whether of graciousness or of severity, arise from the great principle of infinite goodness, and will result in the full accomplishment of the good pleasure which God hath purposed in himself, that in the dispensation of the fulness of the times he might reunite all things in a voluntary subjection under the one great head, our Lord Jesus Christ. This the Apostle fully states 1 Cor. xv. 24–28. Here it will not be improper to remark that the subjection of all things under Jesus Christ is of the same kind with the subjection of the Son to the Father, a voluntary subjection, and accordingly is expressed by the same term: thus verse 28. 'And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be the All in All.'"

Although an avowed Universalist, Mr. Dobson was not connected with the Universalist Church in Philadelphia, being decidedly more Unitarian in his opinions than the Universalists were at that time. For several years he ministered to a small congregation in Carpenter's Hall, south of Chestnut, between Third and Fourth streets; and as late as 1822 was a contributor to "The Philadelphia Universalist Magazine." A few days after his death the following appeared in Poulson's "Daily

American Advertiser," from the pen of James Taylor, one of the founders of the Unitarian Society in Philadelphia, and who, before the settlement of Rev. Dr. Furness as pastor, officiated on Sundays as reader : —

"Thomas Dobson died in Philadelphia, March 9th, 1823. He had been a resident of Philadelphia thirty-nine years, and died in his 73d year. His bookstore was the place of resort of the intelligent and respectable inhabitants of Philadelphia. He stood deservedly high as a bookseller, for he strictly adhered to the principles of integrity. His conversation was so interesting, and his manners so pleasing, that it was only necessary to know Mr. Dobson to esteem and love him. He possessed a rich fund of information on a variety of subjects, and had a peculiar facility in adapting his conversation to the tastes and capacity of those who were in his company. Although no man could be more modest and unassuming, he was manly and dignified. It was his benevolent desire to be useful, and by every innocent means to afford pleasure to others. During the prevalence of the Yellow Fever in 1793, he was one of those who essentially contributed to the relief of the sufferers. To his latest days he loved to hear of whatever tended to increase the means, and to augment the measure, of human happiness. Above all he rejoiced in the spread of Gospel truth, and in the prevalence of pure and undefiled religion.

"During more than four years, Mr. Dobson's sufferings were so intense as almost to prostrate him ; yet although writhing in pain he was never known to murmur or complain. He prayed frequently and fervently for patience and submission, but it was only in qualified terms that he asked for deliverance or relief. The nature of his last illness by prostrating his strength and rendering him unable to speak, precluded him from bear-

ing his dying testimony to the truth of that religion of which he had long been a distinguished professor. He trusted in the mercy of God as revealed by our Lord Jesus Christ and he died in peace."

In 1805 the Philadelphia Convention met in May, as usual. The attendance was small, — only three churches being represented. Rev. John Murray was present from Boston, and the Convention directed "Bro. Timothy Banger to write a letter to the Convention meeting in the State of Massachusetts."

Rev. Timothy Banger was born in London in 1773, and came to Philadelphia twenty years later, bearing a letter of introduction to Dr. Benjamin Rush from Rev. Elhanan Winchester, which contained the following: "Mr. Banger, who will give this to you, is one of our young men who has sat under my preaching several years, and for two years past has occasionally exercised his gifts in public; I have not heard him, except just in the beginning, but am told by those who have that he is a promising young man." He was a firm believer in the Trinity; and withdrew from the Philadelphia Church at the time that body embraced Unitarian views, about 1818. The late Rev. A. C. Thomas said of him: —

"He never had a pastorate, but was eminently useful as a preacher, especially during the many unsettled eras of our cause in Philadelphia. His attendance on public worship in Lombard St. Church ceased when the Trinitarian theory was superseded by the Unitarian, namely, on the settlement of Mr. Kneeland in 1818; yet Mr. Kneeland, writing respecting him (January, 1821), pronounced 'Mr. Banger a worthy and amiable brother, who has always rendered his services gratuitously, and who

has supplied the desk when otherwise it would have been vacant (excepting what time it was thought best that the doors of the church should be closed) for more than twenty years.' The same was true of him, to my knowledge, as late as 1839." [1]

On ceasing to worship with the Universalists, Mr. Banger affiliated with the German Baptists (Dunkers), with whom he was elected an "Elder" in April, 1824, and was for a long time associated with Peter Keyser and James Lynd in their ministry at the meetings in Crown Street, Philadelphia, and Germantown. The bodies of the three lie near each other in the Society's burial-ground in Germantown. Mr. Banger died on the first of June, 1847, and his funeral services were conducted by Harriet Livermore, a noted writer and preacher, of whom he had been very considerate in her misfortunes and poverty. This remarkable woman is the "Stranger Guest" described in Whittier's poem entitled "Snow-Bound."

Among the papers presented to this session of the Philadelphia Convention was the following letter from the Church in New Britain, written by their pastor, Rev. David Evans. It is presented as indicating the views of the Universalists of that section: —

The Universalian Church meeting in New Britain, To the Ministers and Messengers of the several Churches of the same faith with us, meeting in Convention at Philadelphia, May 25th, 1805, *Greeting.*

Dear Brethren, — An Inspired Apostle defines the Gospel of Christ to be Glad tidings of good things, and what tidings can be more gladdening and better, to him

[1] Century of Universalism, p. 56.

that knows the fallen, helpless state of man, who knows that he is a sinner, and that sin doth involve the curse which he is not able to endure or to extinguish, — than to hear that God, who is infinitely wise, powerful and good, is the first cause and last end of all things? That thereby limits are fixed to the degree and duration of all evil, that all the evil which hath entered into the moral and physical world, is the subject of annihilation, and shall through the strict execution of the unfrustrable decree, be made to subserve the promotion of final, universal, purity and happiness. That the mediation of our most adorable Lord Jesus, doth, and eternally did exist, and that the existence thereof doth eternally interest mankind therein, although the far greater number in the present time know it not, and do not desire the knowledge thereof. That the mediation of Jesus Christ laid on him the iniquity of us all, and brought him under the obligation of delivering us from the Curse, by being made a Curse for us, and that through an illumination of our minds in the knowledge of this grace and truth, mankind are saved from the dominion of sin, and from the tormenting fear of the Curse of the law, and are sweetly reconciled to God and to each other in Evangelical love and purity. That God most absolute, according to His Sovereign Will, hath elected a particular number of mankind to be real Believers in this life, all whom he doth in the present life sweetly incline to seek to know the Lord; to all such, (without any exception) God doth in the present life shew His Salvation, and that the manifestation thereof shall be their All-sufficient and unceasing heaven. That all those who are not thus elected, God doth suffer them during the present life to rest easy in their sins; and in the embraces of irreconcilable contradictions, they have no desire to attain to the knowledge of the only True God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent; — Therefore, their lot will be, to die ignorant

of their salvation from the charge and demerit of sin being fully completed in Jesus Christ. That their ignorance will be their sufficient future hell, binding them as much under the tormenting fear of the charge of sin and its demerits, as if Jesus had not saved them therefrom; in which awful state they must remain until the dispensation of fulness of time. But the evil being temporary, God's distinguishing mercy to the one, and His awful severity to the other, is to subserve the promotion of final and universal purity and happiness in all. Therefore, manifestly consistent with every attribute in God, and the existence of the most glorious mediation of Jesus Christ, this being a summary of the Gospel of Christ, every part thereof is Glad Tidings of Good Things.

Also it is plain from metaphysical deductions, that Whatever God doth hate He will finally annihilate. God doth implacably hate sin, Therefore He will finally annihilate it.

Further, What God will not finally hate, He doth necessarily love, Therefore, if God will not finally annihilate all sin, He doth necessarily love it.

These arguments, in conjunction with the word and oath of God that He hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, do demonstratively and superabundantly prove the limitarian doctrine to be false and Anti-christian. Although in the present day a few only are inclined of God to desire to attain the knowledge of the most precious truth, — the absoluteness, universality and immutability of God's love, — the universality and absoluteness of Salvation through the merits of Christ alone, — that God will finally gather all into the knowledge of Himself, — yet we are under the greatest obligations to rejoice in God, that the proof of the existence of this truth is so plain, demonstrative, and invincible, that the most accomplished limitarian will never be able argumentatively to answer and confute. The foundation of

God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are His. Therefore let us not be discouraged, but animated unitedly to defend the truth, illustrating it and the necessity of seeing, knowing and believing it, in order that we may partake of eternal life.

To meet with you we have appointed our Minister, David Evans, to be our Messenger. Praying for the promotion of the real Gospel, we subscribe, Your Brethren.

Subscribed by request of our meeting of worship, May 19th, 1805.

THOMAS MORRIS, *Clerk.*

In June, 1805, a Conference was held in Burlington, Otsego County, N. Y., to consider the expediency of attempting the organization of an Association in that State. One society only — that at Hartwick — was then in existence west of New York City; but preaching was being maintained a portion of the time in several localities, and the prospect of additional organizations in the near future was encouraging. Revs. M. T. Wooley, E. Ferriss, and N. Stacy were in attendance, and a large number of laymen from various localities; and the result was that it was voted expedient to form an Association, and to appoint Revs. Wooley and Stacy delegates to the session of the General Convention the following September, to solicit advice and assistance in perfecting the proposed organization. In August a society was formed in Whitestown, Oneida County, under the preaching of Mr. Stacy; and early in September, through the same instrumentality, a society was organized in Hamilton, Madison County. The members of these two societies were scattered over a large territory, — the first, Mr. Stacy says (Memoirs, page 139), "comprising the towns of Whitestown, Westmoreland,

Clinton, New Hartford, Utica, Paris, Deerfield, and Litchfield." The second society was designated in its title: "The Universalist Society of Hamilton and vicinity." It certainly included the towns of Brookfield, Sangerfield and Madison, and probably most of the towns in Madison County. From these two societies Mr. Stacy bore to the General Convention an earnest recommendation and request for his "ordination to the evangelic work of the ministry."

One of the most noted and eminent men in Central New York was prominent in the Whitestown society, and, taking a deep interest in its prosperity, contributed liberally to its support, and provided in the final disposal of his estate for its permanent establishment. Rev. S. R. Smith records this concerning him: —

"The Hon. Hugh White, the *first* of the pioneers from New England that ventured west of the Dutch settlements on the Mohawk river, and whose name is impressed upon the town of Whitestown — was a Universalist. He was from its organization connected with the Universalist society in that town (now known as New Hartford Society), and lived and died one of its members. After his death, it was ascertained that he had left by his *Will* a valuable legacy to the society. It consisted of about *four acres* of ground on the principal street in Whitesboro' village — its estimated value being [in 1812] *One thousand dollars;* and was intended by the donor as the site for the church and parsonage house of the Universalist congregation.

"The will was drawn by a lawyer of distinction, who was remotely connected with the family of Judge White. And either from some technical informality in the will itself, or from neglect of adopting proper measures on the part of the society, this valuable legacy was *lost*, and

reverted to the family heirs. The probability is, that the society was defrauded, and the aged donor imposed upon, by a legal quibble; and that for the sordid purpose of securing to the family a share which was but the 'dust of the balance' to the whole, the benevolent offering of a sincere friend of truth was turned aside from its religious destination. It was never doubted that had the bequest been made to some other, or almost any other religious society than that of Universalists, the favored congregation would have received it without opposition. The loss of this legacy changed the central location of the society, and no doubt gave a new and very different direction to its destiny." [1]

The following with regard to Judge White, revealing some of his characteristics, is entitled to a place here. It is from "The New York Historical Collections," pages 379, 380: —

"For a number of years after Judge White's arrival in Whitestown, Oneida County, quite a number of the Oneida Indians resided in his vicinity. The following interesting incident, which took place during this period, is copied from Tracy's Lectures.

"An old chief, named Han Yerry, who during the war had acted with the royal party, and now resided at Oriskany, in a log wigwam, which stood on this side of the creek, just back of the house until recently occupied by Mr. Charles Green, one day called at Judge White's with his wife and a mulatto woman who belonged to him, and who acted as his interpreter. After conversing with him a little while, the Indian asked him, — 'Are you my friend?' 'Yes,' said he. 'Well, then,' said the Indian, 'do you believe I am your friend?' 'Yes, Han Yerry, I believe you are.' The Indian then rejoined —

[1] Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate, 1846, p. 410.

'Well, if you are my friend, and you believe I am your friend, I will tell you what I want, and then I shall know whether you speak true words.' 'And what is it that you want?' said Mr. White. The Indian then pointed to a little grandchild, the daughter of one of his sons, then between two and three years old, and said, — 'My squaw wants to take this pappoose home with her to stay one night, and bring her home to-morrow; if you are my friend, you will now show me.' The feelings of the grandfather at once uprose in his bosom, and the child's mother started with horror and alarm at the thought of intrusting her darling prattler with the rude tenants of the forest. The question was full of interest. On the one hand, the necessity of placing unlimited confidence in the savage, and intrusting the welfare and life of his grandchild with him; on the other, the certain enmity of a man of influence and consequence in his nation, and one who had been the open enemy of his countrymen in their recent struggle. But he made the decision with a sagacity that showed that he properly estimated the character of the person he was dealing with. He believed that by placing implicit confidence in him, he should command the sense of honor which seems peculiar to the uncontaminated Indian. He told him to take the child; and as the mother, scarcely suffering it to be parted from her, relinquished it into the hands of the old man's wife, he soothed her fears with his assurances of confidence in their promises. That night, however, was a long one; and during the whole of the next morning many and often were the anxious glances cast up the pathway leading from Oriskany, if possible to discover the Indians and their little charge, upon their return to its home. But no Indians came in sight. At length it became high noon; all a mother's fears were aroused; she could hardly be restrained from rushing in pursuit of her loved one. But her father represented to her the

gross indignity which a suspicion of their intentions would arouse in the breast of the chief; and half frantic though she was, she was restrained. The afternoon slowly wore away, and still nothing was seen of her child. The sun had nearly reached the horizon, and the mother's heart had swollen beyond further endurance, when the forms of the friendly chief and his wife, bearing upon their shoulders their little visitor, greeted its mother's vision. The dress which the child had worn from home had been removed, and in its place its Indian friends had substituted a complete set of Indian garments, so as completely to metamorphose it into a little squaw. The sequel of this adventure was the establishment of a most ardent attachment and regard on the part of the Indian and his friends for the white settlers. The child, now Mrs. Eells, of Missouri, the widow of the late Nathaniel Eells, of Whitesboro', still remembers some incidents occurring on the night of her stay in the wigwam, and the kindness of her Indian hostess."

Judge White died in 1812, and the following inscription on the monument erected to his memory shows what manner of man he was: —

"Here sleep the mortal remains of Hugh White, who was born 5 February, 1733, at Middletown, Conn., and died 16 April 1812. In the year 1784, he removed to Sedaghquate, now Whitesboro', where he was the first white inhabitant in the state of New York, west of the German settlers on the Mohawk. He was distinguished for energy and decision of character; and may justly be regarded as a *patriarch* who led the children of New England into the wilderness. As a magistrate, a citizen, and a man, his character for truth and integrity was proverbial. This humble monument is reared and inscribed by the affectionate partner of his joys and sorrows, May 15, 1826.

The General Convention met in September, 1805, at Westmoreland, N. H. Ordination was conferred on Revs. C. G. Person and N. Stacy, and fellowship was granted Paul Dean, Sebastian Streeter, Calvin Eaton, Eneas Lamb, and J. Felch. Of the last three we have no further knowledge; the first two became eminent.

Rev. Paul Dean was born in Barnard, Vt., 27th March, 1783, and died at Framingham, Mass., 1st October, 1860. During the first five years of his ministry his home was at Montpelier, Vt., and his labors were probably in that vicinity. In 1810 he accepted a call to the pastorate of the church and society in Whitestown, "half of his time being relinquished for the general benefit of the cause." It is the uniform testimony of those who had personal knowledge of his ministry in New York, that it was characterized by a wise and untiring zeal, and was greatly blessed of God. Mr. Stacy says: —

"His removal into this section of the Redeemer's heritage was hailed as the commencement of a more prosperous era; and so it proved. He was a young man of prepossessing appearance, of brilliant speaking talents, and of indefatigable zeal and perseverance. He flew, as upon the wings of the wind, from place to place, proclaiming the word with the boldness of a veteran; challenged discussion, and even controversy, with clergymen of the Partialist sects, without distinction of denomination; met the opposer in open field, and conquered under the banner of the cross. Whatever Mr. Dean's course may have been since he left this State, he was, while here, certainly the most successful preacher we had ever had among us; and I very much question whether New York has ever had a more successful dispenser of the Word, even up to the present time. I

regretted extremely his leaving the State; and I have great reason to believe that it would have been far better for him, and better for the cause of Universalism if he had never removed to Boston." (Memoirs, page 214.)

Rev. S. R. Smith speaks of Mr. Dean in a similar manner: —

"With enough of experience to give him a reputation as a minister of the order — with high popularity as an eloquent speaker — with very superior colloquial talents — and with an industry worthy so good a cause, Mr. Dean was welcomed to the new field of his labors with mingled feelings of pride and pleasure. And during a residence of three years in the country, he seldom disappointed the high expectation of his friends. He was young, healthy and persevering — filling his almost daily appointments with the utmost punctuality; and shrinking from no labor which they involved. And without any reflections on the talents or usefulness of others, in their respective spheres, no man living was perhaps more perfectly adapted to the work allotted him. His constitution and habits — his love of social and religious excitement — his abundant command of language, and the ease and freedom of his delivery — all combined to fit him exquisitely for the wants of the denomination. He must travel much, visit much; and of course study little. He must preach often — preach doctrinal sermons; and the doctrine of the restitution was his favorite theme. He must mingle with every possible condition of society; and he was formed to interest and gratify all. He must do battle before the public, with the champions of opposing sects; and his ready command of words enabled him to talk and conciliate, if he failed to convince." (Historical Sketches, i., pp. 27, 28.)

In 1813 Mr. Dean moved to Boston and became colleague with Rev. John Murray, who, on account of

failing health, was incapacitated for further public service. In 1822 Mr. Dean resigned, and became pastor of the Central Universalist Church, many of the members of which, for the purpose of creating a new organization, withdrew from the first society. Here he remained about seventeen years. In regard to the Restorationist controversy, and Mr. Dean's prominence therein, we shall speak in another place. His theological views are thus described by Rev. Adin Ballou, with whom he was intimately connected in various matters for several years: —

"As a theologian, he was on several points peculiar and almost unique. Respecting the Godhead, he was nearer a Sabellian than anything else; believing in God as strictly *one* divine person revealed in *three* official manifestations, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. He held the atonement of Christ to have been sacrificially vicarious and meritorious, but not in the sense of penal satisfaction or appeasement of God's vindictive justice. Also, that it was the only ground of man's salvation, and designed to be completely efficacious for the reconciliation of the whole human race. It was seldom, however, that he expatiated on these doctrines, either in his public discourses or private conversation; preferring to use them practically, rather than as themes of polemical discussion." [1]

Rev. Sebastian Streeter was born in Hoosic, now North Adams, Mass., 15th April, 1783. He was educated for the legal profession, but becoming greatly

[1] Abstract of Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, F. and A. M., 1873, p. 222. Mr. Dean was an eminent Freemason, and was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in 1838–1840.

interested in Universalism, began to preach in the early part of 1805, though not intending to relinquish his profession as a lawyer; but meeting with determined and bitter opposition to his preaching, — dogs were set on him by the settlers as he passed their houses, and he was stoned by a professed Christian while preaching in a Christian house of worship, — he felt that duty required that he should give all his time and energies to the advance of a cause which was so little understood and so blindly persecuted. His first settlement was in Weare, N. H., in 1807, his time being divided between that place and Hopkinton. In 1812 he took charge of the society in Haverhill, Mass., remaining there four years, when he took the pastorate at Portsmouth, N. H., and from there removed to Boston, in 1824, to become pastor of the First Society, a position which he occupied until the dissolution of the society in 1864. As a preacher his services were widely sought, and as a pastor he had no superior for promptness, decision, tender interest in his people, and familiar acquaintance with the families of his parish. He had extraordinary gifts in prayer, and was in great request on occasions of bereavement. "He was in his element in the conference and prayer-meeting. And this made his Friday evening conference so profitable and so permanent for many years. There was kindled a fire upon the altar of many hearts that never went out." "He was justly known as the 'Patriarch of Weddings,'" says the late Rev. Lemuel Willis. "His record book shows a list of four thousand seven hundred and seventy-two occasions where he performed the ceremony." Of the hymn-book compiled by him, with the

aid of his brother, Rev. Russell Streeter, as also of his connection with our periodical publications, we shall speak in another place. After a long and painful illness he departed this life in June, 1867.

In answer to the request from New York, the General Convention approved the proposed organization of an Association, and appointed Revs. H. Ballou, W. Farewell, and Joshua Flagg to attend and assist in the work. They also chose a committee to prepare a hymn-book, of which more hereafter; and appointed fraternal committees to visit the Eastern and Northern Associations, — a practice which was continued for many years with pleasing and profitable results. Of the promptness with which such appointments were met, Rev. S. R. Smith says: "Singular or incredible as this may now seem — such committees were most punctual in their attendance, even when forced to travel in no very commodious manner, and at their own expense, some two or three hundred miles. And yet this was done as a matter of course, from year to year; and often by the same individuals. Such labors and sacrifices are neither understood nor appreciated by the masses of society." (Historical Sketches, i., pp. 12, 13.)

At the session of the Northern Association in 1805, Rev. Richard Carrique was ordained. Mr. Carrique was the son of an officer in the British army, and was born in the fort at the entrance of Pensacola harbor, the 31st of December, 1777. After serving some time as a lieutenant in the English army, — probably a portion of the time in Canada, — he commenced preaching the doctrines of Universalism about 1802 in New Haven, Vt. Shortly after, he was preacher and school-teacher

in Shoreham, from which place he moved to Charlton, Mass., in 1812, and was for three years engaged in the same capacity as at Shoreham. From 1815 to 1821 he was pastor of the Universalist society in Attleborough, Mass., and at the latter date moved to Hartford, Ct., where he started and took charge of "The Religious Inquirer," — a paper in defence of Universalism, published semi-monthly. In 1824 he moved to Hudson, N. Y., where he started a semi-monthly paper entitled "The Messenger of Peace," which was discontinued at the close of the first volume. He ceased to preach about the time of his removal to Hudson; and was for several years clerk of Columbia County, and subsequently editor of a secular and political journal. He was a man of eminent ability, and while in the ministry was useful and zealous. He died in Hudson, the 12th of May, 1848.[1]

A new preacher, Rev. Elijah Lynch, entered the Universalist ministry in Newberry District, South Carolina, in 1805. He had been for some years a Dunker preacher, and when he decided to take the name of Universalist, the entire Dunker Church joined him in the change of name.[2] For many years he officiated regularly in the meeting-house a few miles north of Newberry, and much of that time was the only Universalist preacher in the State. His death occurred the 10th of August, 1842. In an obituary furnished to "The Southern Universalist," by Rev. L. F. W. Andrews, who officiated at Mr. Lynch's funeral, is the following: —

[1] Chiefly from a Biographical Sketch by Rev. Anson Titus, in "The Christian Leader," Dec. 8. 1881.

[2] Universalist Magazine, vol. ix., 1827, p. 48.

"During his last illness he dictated to his son what may be considered his dying testimony to the truth, from the passage in 1 Thess. ii. 19. 'For what is our Hope,' in which he has given evidence how sustaining was the *hope* which he possessed, on the near approach of death, and effectually rebuked the slanderous report already circulated, that he had renounced his faith and burnt his books! His remains were committed to the tomb on Thursday, the 11th, in the burial ground where stood the church in which he received his first religious impressions of universal love, and where repose the remains of the venerated Chapman, from whose lips those sacred impressions were received."

By far the most significant event in 1805 was the publication of "A Treatise on Atonement; in which the finite nature of sin is argued, its cause and consequences as such; the necessity and nature of Atonement; and its glorious consequences, in the final reconciliation of all men to holiness and happiness. By Hosea Ballou, of Barnard; ordained Pastor of the united Societies of Barnard, Woodstock, Hartland, Bethel and Bridgewater." It was an octavo volume, of 216 pages, and was printed in Randolph, Vt.

It was a wonderful book for its day, and in many respects is unsurpassed by anything that has since been written. The first American book published in advocacy of Unitarian views of God and Christ, it was a clear and able exposure of the absurdities and contradictions of the popular doctrines of the Trinity and Vicarious Atonement. As an argument for Universalism it was novel, and, in substance at least, was soon adopted by a large majority of those who were active in the ministry and by their hearers, and became a

means of converting hundreds from the errors of the popular theology

As a specimen of its manner of dealing with the doctrine of the Trinity, note the following: —

"Before I put the foregoing system of atonement under examination, I will take notice of the character of the Mediator, as believed in, by all those who hold to the several systems of which I have taken notice, as I have not examined that particular, in my inquiries on the other systems preceding the one under consideration. They all contend, that the Mediator is *really God;* that the Godhead consists of *three distinct persons,* viz. *Father, Son* and *Holy Ghost;* that these *distinct* persons are equal in power and glory, and *eternally* and *essentially one!*

"The reader will observe my usual mode of reasoning, which is to admit, as truth, what I wish to oppose; and to oppose it, with the consequence which necessarily follows. For the sake of argument, then, I admit the foregoing statement of the character of Christ to be just; and then I contend, that if he be the *Son* of *God,* he is the *son* of *himself,* and is his own father; that he is no more the *Son* of *God,* than *God* is his *son!* To say, of two persons, exactly of the same age, that one of them is a real son of the other, is to confound good sense. If Jesus Christ were really *God,* it must be argued, that *God really died!* Again, if the Godhead consists of *three distinct* persons, and each of those *persons* be *infinite,* the *whole Godhead* amounts to the amazing sum of infinity, multiplied by three! If it is said, that neither of these three persons alone is infinite, I say, the *three together,* with the addition of a *million* more *such,* would not make an *infinite being.*" (Pages 92, 93.)

"I have already stated some of the absurdities contained in the opinions of most christians, respecting the

Mediator; I shall now be a little more particular on the subject.

"I shall contend, that the Mediator is a *created dependant* being. That he is a created being, is proved from Rev. iii. 14, where he is said to be 'the beginning of the creation of God.' His dependancy is proved, by his frequent prayers to the Father. That he acknowledged a superior, when on earth, is evident, from many passages which might be quoted. See St. John v. 19. Christ here says, 'The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do.' He acknowledged a superior in knowledge, see Matthew xxiv. 36. 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.' This passage implies, that he did not know of that day himself. St. Mark is still more explicit, see chap. xiii. 32. 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the *Son*, but the Father.' And further, that he acknowledges a superior, even in his risen glory, may be proved from his own words to his servant John, on the Isle of Patmos, see Rev. iii. 12. 'Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of *my* God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of *my God*, and the name of the city of *my God*, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from *my God*, and I will write upon him my new name.' Four times, in the above passage, he acknowledges a being whom he worships. Again, see Psalm xlv. 7. 'Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness, *because* God, thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' The reader will observe, I have ventured to put the word *because*, in room of the word *therefore*, in this quotation; but I have not done it, without the authority of a former translation. The difference is so essential, I cannot dispense with it. Observe, the writer of the Psalm

addresses one God, and speaks, in his address, of another, see verse 6, 'Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever.' This God is dependant on another, expressed in the 7th verse, *Because* God, thy God hath anointed thee, &c. That the names, *God*, *Lord*, and *everlasting Father*, are applied to Christ, I shall not dispute; neither shall I dispute the propriety of it; But I do not admit, that they mean the self-existent Jehovah, when applied to the Mediator. In the quotation from the Psalm, Christ is said to be anointed *above his fellows.* Fellows are equals. Who are Christ's *equals?* Perhaps the reader may say, they are the Father and the Holy Spirit; but I can hardly believe, that Christ was anointed with the oil of gladness above his Father, neither do I believe any one will contend for it. I am sensible, that God speaks, by the prophet, of smiting the man who is his *fellow;* but this fellowship must be different from the one just spoken of, and stands only in an official sense. The reader will then ask, if I would consider the Mediator no more than equal with men? I answer, yes, were it not, that our Father and his Father, our God and his God, hath anointed him above his fellows. See Philippians ii. 9. 'Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name.' For this exaltation and name, he was dependant on his Father, and received them from him. This name, which is above every name, is the name of God, named on Jesus. It will be said, Christ taught the people, that *he* and his *Father* were *one.* I grant he did, and if that prove him to be essentially God, the argument must run farther than the objector would wish to have it. See St. John xvii. 11. Christ prays that his disciples may be *one,* even as *he* and the *Father* are *one.* The oneness of the Father and Son, is their union and agreement in the great work which he has undertaken; and he prayed that his disciples might be as well agreed in the gospel

of salvation, as he and his Father were, see verse 18. 'As thou hast sent me into the world, so have I also sent them into the world.' The Father of all mercies sent his Son Jesus into the world, for a certain purpose; and there was a perfect agreement between them, in all things. He says, he came not to do his *own will*, but the *will* of *him* who sent him. And again, My meat and drink, is to do the will of him who sent me, and to finish *his* work.

"The President of the United States sends a minister to negociate a peace at a foreign court; this minister must conduct according to the authority which he derives from him, by whom he is sent; and as far as he does, he is, in his *official character*, the *power* that sent him. It is evident, Christ *received* the *power* which he exercises in the work which he hath undertaken, and that his *kingdom* was *given* to him, which goes to prove, he did not eternally possess them; see Dan. vii. 14, 'And there was *given* him dominion and glory, and a kingdom.' According to the prophecy here quoted, the dominion, glory and kingdom of Christ were *given* him. The people whom he is to rule are *given* him, see Psalm ii. 8. 'Ask of me, and I shall *give* thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.' St. Matthew xxviii. 18. Jesus saith, 'All *power* is *given* unto me in heaven and earth.' Chap. xi. 27. 'All things are *delivered* unto me of my Father.' These and many more passages are found in sacred writ, in support of the dependance of the Mediator on the Supreme Eternal, and that he derives his power and glory from him. But if Christ be essentially God, all those scriptures seem without just signification." (Pages 108–111.)

Equally effective is the style of his argument on the nature of the Atonement: —

"Christian divines, in general, have agreed in supposing sin to be an *infinite evil*, being a violation of an *infinite law*, and, therefore, that the law required an *infinite sacrifice;* short of which, no atonement could be made; that the transgression of Adam brought the whole human race into the same situation of sin and misery, and subjected them all to the *infinite penalty* of an *infinite law*, which they had violated in their parent, before they individually existed.

"After the above agreement, many different roads are taken; and divines of the greatest abilities, and of the first rank among the literati, have drained the last faculty of invention, in plodding through the dark regions of metaphysics, to bring up a *Samuel* to explain the *solecism* of *satisfying* an *infinite dissatisfaction;*

"The plan of redemption, as held by many, may be reduced to the following compendium. God, from all eternity, foreseeing that man would sin, provided a Mediator for a certain part of his posterity, who should suffer the penalty of the law for them, and that these elect ones, chosen by God from the rest of mankind, will alone be benefitted by the atonement; that, in order that the sacrifice might be adequate to the crime, for which, the sinner was condemned to *everlasting*, or endless suffering, God himself, assumed a body of flesh and blood, such as the delinquent was constituted in, and suffered the penalty of the law by death, and arose from the dead. By this process, the demand of the law was completely answered, and the debt due to Divine Justice, by the elect, was fully and amply paid. But that this atonement does not affect those who were not elected as objects of mercy, but that they are left to suffer *endlessly* for what Adam did, before they were born. It is true, they are a little cautious about saying, that *God himself absolutely died!* But they say, that Christ, who was crucified, was *really God himself*, which must, in effect, amount to the same thing.

And in fact, if the Infinite did not suffer death, the whole plan falls, for it is by an *infinite sacrifice* that they pretend to *satisfy* an *infinite dissatisfaction.*

"Why the above ideas should ever have been imbibed, by men of understanding and study, I can but scarcely satisfy myself; their absurdities are so glaring, that it seems next to impossible, that men of sobriety and sound judgment should ever imbibe them, or avoid seeing them.

"I have already sufficiently refuted the idea of an infinite sin, which opens to a plain path, in which the mind may run, and run clear of all those perplexities which have served to confuse, rather than enlighten mankind.

"If sin be not infinite, the dissatisfaction occasioned by sin is not infinite; therefore an infinite sacrifice is not required. But, for the sake of illustration, we will for a moment admit, that the doctrine of atonement stands on the ground over which we have just gone. I will state it as it is often stated by those who believe it, which is by the likeness of debt and credit. The sinner owed a debt to Divine Justice, which he was unable to discharge; the Divine Being cannot, consistently with his honor, dispense with the pay, but says, I must have what is my due; but as the debtor has not ability to pay the smallest fraction, Divine Wisdom lays a deep concerted mysterious plan for the debt to be discharged. And how was it? Why, for God to pay it himself!

"My neighbor owes me an hundred pounds; time of payment comes, and I make a demand for my dues. Says my neighbor, my misfortunes have been such, that I am not the possessor of the smallest fraction of property in the world; and as much as I owe you, I am worse than nothing. I declare to him, positively, that I will not lose so much as a fraction of the interest, and leave him. A friend calls, and asks me how I succeeded in

obtaining my dues of my neighbor; I reply, my neighbor is not, nor will he ever be able to pay me any part of my demand. My friend says, he is sorry that I should lose my debt. I answer, I shall not lose it. I have very fortunately, in my meditations on the subject, thought of a method, by which I can avail myself of the whole, to my full satisfaction; and I think it is a method which no person in the world, but myself, could ever have discovered. My friend is curious, and impatient to know the mighty secret, never before found out. The reader may guess his confusion, on my telling him, that, as I have that sum already by me, I am now going to pay up the obligation, before the interest is any larger! This has been called the gospel plan, which contains the depths of infinite wisdom.

"I should be pleased to see, what I have never seen, professors following such example in obtaining what the poor widow, the fatherless, and the needy, owe them. But, says the advocate for the plan, a *distinction* ought to be made, *between* the *persons* in the Godhead. It was the second person in the Godhead, who paid this infinite debt, to the first; therefore, it is not altogether like a person paying his own demand. I say, in answer, if the first and second persons in the Godhead are not so essentially one as to make the debts due to one, belong equally to the other, and payment also, they are not so essentially one, as to be represented by two distinct persons, related only by Adam, who are in co. in merchandise. But, for the sake of carrying the argument still further, I will admit this *variety* of persons in an *infinite, indivisible being!* And also the plan of atonement on the principle of the second person's paying the demand to the first. And here it will be necessary to introduce the *third person* in the Godhead, as it is contended that the third person makes known to the debtor, what the creditor determines concerning him. Then the plan of the

doctrine may be represented by the following similitude: A owes B the sum of one thousand pounds; the time of payment comes, demand is made; A is not worth a farthing, neither is it in his power to raise a fraction of the money. B immediately commences a process against A, of which, C, a friend of A's, being informed, goes to B, asks him how large a demand he holds against A; B informs him, a thousand pounds, and the interest. And is A worth nothing? asks C. Nothing, answers B. Would you make a deduction of twenty-five per cent, if you could have the money down? asks C. Not the least deduction, answers B. You will, at least, throw in the interest, says C. Not the smallest fraction, answers B. Well, says C, if you have no *mercy* on the *poor* and *distressed*, I will have the *pleasure* of *relieving* the *debtor alone;* counts out the money in full, and receives the obligation to bestow on his friend, A. B sends a servant immediately to inform A, that he has concluded to forgive him the debt. A is transported at the news, flies to tell his wife and children the tidings of mercy, and all join in praising such heavenly benevolence. C comes in, the same moment, with the obligation in his hand; modestly gives it to A, desiring him to accept it as a token of undissembled friendship. A is *confounded*, asks C how he came by the obligation; C informs him, that he paid every farthing of the money for it, the creditor would not make the least deduction. I leave the reader to judge, whether the creditor showed any mercy to the debtor, and whether B's pretensions of favoring A, do not wear the appearance of hypocrisy. It is contended by those who hold to this debt, and the payment of it, that the salvation of the sinner is by being forgiven; yet, they contend, that the debt is paid. But how I can forgive a man a debt, and oblige him to pay it, is more than I can see.

"Again, admitting the system true, I wish to inquire

into the propriety of an innocent person's suffering, for one who is guilty. It is scripture, reason, and good law, never to condemn the innocent, in order to exculpate the delinquent." (Pages 66–71.)

"I shall now invite the attention of the reader to another system of atonement, which was undoubtedly formed, with a view to shun the absurdities in the former, and to get rid of some of the consequences that were naturally deducible from that idea of the sufferings of Christ. This system supposes, that the atonement by Christ was not intended for the salvation of any part of the human race; that its main end, and sole object, was the glory of the Supreme Being, as manifested in his holy and righteous law. In support of this plan, it is argued, that it is inconsistent, for infinite wisdom and goodness to prefer an inferior object to a superior one; that all creation, when compared with the Creator, sinks into nothing, bearing no possible proportion to the infinite Jehovah; of course, that God always has his own glory in view, as his supreme object, in all he does.

"This plan agrees with the former, in supposing sin to be of infinite magnitude, and deserving of endless punishment; that, as the law of God is infinite, like himself, finite man is infinitely to blame for not fulfilling all its requirements; and that the penalty of the law is endless misery, which misery Christ sustained; not with a view of acquitting the sinner, nor in room and stead of the transgressor, as is supposed in the other plan; but for the honor of divine justice, and the glory of his Father. It is further argued, that by Christ's suffering the penalty of the law, justice is as fully satisfied, as if all mankind had been made miserable for an eternity. And this being the case, it is now just and right for God to acquit as many of the sinful race of Adam, as is consistent with his grand object, which is himself; yet, by no means

rendering it unjust for God to punish, to all eternity, as many as is necessary, in order for the satisfying of the same grand object.

"I first inquire into the propriety of the argument, on which this plan of atonement seems to be founded; which is, that God always acts for his own infinite and incomprehensible glory; never stooping so low, as to act with an intention for the good of his creatures.

"1st. I ask, is God as infinitely glorious as he can be, or not? If it be answered, that he is; then, if his object in all he does, is to augment *his own* glory, he never has, nor will he ever accomplish his intention. If it be argued, that it is not to augment his own glory, but to secure it and maintain it in its proper splendor, it argues it to be of a perishable nature, and that it would decay, were it not for the continual vigilance of the Almighty, in preserving it. If it be argued, that neither of these objects is right, but that it is the manifestation of his glory to intelligent beings, which is the grand design or object of God, in all his acts, without any reference to the effect which this manifestation has on those to whom it is made, I say, the object has now dwindled into annihilation; there is not the smallest imaginable atom of it left. To suppose, that any rational being can wish, or desire, to accomplish any piece of labor, without having any reference to the consequences, is too glaringly absurd, to need refutation. Now the nature of the proposition, which I am examining, confines the motive of Deity within himself, and himself from his creation. In order, therefore, to look at the Almighty as he is by this doctrine represented, we must look at him as destitute of a creation, and view him abstractly from all his creatures. . . . To say, that the Almighty has, or ever could have a motive, in action, that did not embrace every consequence that could arise from what he did, would be limiting his omniscience; or, to say, that he did not intend

good, to all whom his acts concern, would be limiting his goodness, and an impeachment on his justice.

"I have before, in this work, contended, that all the attributes, which we ascribe to God, we call *good*, on account of the advantages which we derive from such principles. We are told of a God who acts for his own benefit, abstractly from his creation; and that, in millions of cases, he finds it most for his glory to make his rational, hoping, wanting creatures endlessly miserable; and this is called *goodness*. We are likewise told of a devil, who acts for his own gratification, and who delights in making God's creatures miserable; and this is called *badness*. But, for my part, according to such statements, the difference, between goodness and badness, is so small, I can hardly distinguish it. It is profane, in my opinion, to attribute a disposition to the Almighty, which we can justly condemn in ourselves. A man, who should act from such a selfish principle as is attributed to God, would render himself wholly unworthy of the protection of common law. And shall we thus represent our kind and merciful Father, from whom ten thousand streams of goodness continually flow to his wanting and needy creatures? . . .

"Although I think I have given unanswerable reasons, why I do not admit such a penalty as I have examined, I will for the sake of the argument still further, allow it, and inquire into Christ's suffering it.

"To say, that Christ *has suffered* such a penalty, is a contradiction in terms, because an endless duration has not, yet, expired. To say, that this penalty ever will be *suffered*, by Christ, or any other being, is another contradiction in words; for an endless duration will never expire. Then to say, that such a penalty has been, or ever will be suffered, is erroneous.

"If it be argued, that Christ was an *infinite* person, and, therefore, could suffer an endless punishment, in a

few moments; I answer, it is not shunning the contradiction. If the position be moved, and the argument is, that he being *infinite,* could suffer as much, in a few moments, as *all* mankind would to an endless duration; I ask, are there more *infinite* beings than one? All answer, no. I ask, again, is it possible for that infinite being to suffer? Even from my opponent, the answer will be, that the infinite himself did not suffer; but that it was the finite nature which suffered, and was raised from the dead, by the infinite; that it was the *human nature* which was made a sin offering; and that the divine nature gave victory to the human, by raising it into an immortal life. Well then, the sufferings of Christ were *finite,* and could by no means answer the requirements of an *infinite* penalty." (Pages 81–89.)

The author then proceeds to argue, affirmatively, that atonement is reconciliation; that if it were God who was the unreconciled party, He never could be reconciled, since he is unchangeable; that, on the contrary, it is man who is unreconciled, and who needs the atonement or reconciliation; that the atonement by Christ is not the cause of God's love to man, but the effect of it; and, finally, that it is only by a figure that the blood and death of Christ is said to be our ransom or justification.

Mr. Ballou, at the time of publishing the first edition of the "Treatise on Atonement," was still trammelled by the notions which he had imbibed from the teachings of Caleb Rich, as noticed in the remarks on the "Notes on the Parables," published a year before. The atonement, he says, "brings us to a renewal of love, in which spirit we all stood in our spiritual head, Jesus, before formation; and from which we in a certain

sense, elapsed, after being subject to vanity." (Page 116.) Again, he is still more explicit in giving —

"A fair statement of the doctrine of universal salvation, as I understand it.

"1st. God created man in Christ the Mediator; in which creation, the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, of which St. Paul speaks to the Romans, was the whole governing principle of his nature.

"2nd. After the creation of man in this divine constitution, it pleased the Almighty to reduce him to a state of formation in flesh and blood; in which constitution, the *law* of *sin*, which St. Paul said he found in his members, became the governing principle of the whole man.

"3d. God has revealed his divine and glorious purpose of bringing man back from his *formed* state, and from under the law of the earthly Adam, to his original *created* state, forever to be under the governing power of the law of the heavenly constitution." (Pages 131, 132.)

There are also a few traces of Rellyanism, — an indication that in the beginning of his ministry, and before he became so strongly inclined to Unitarian thoughts of God, as early as 1795 (see vol. i. p. 449), he had somewhat fallen in with Mr. Murray's peculiar views. Thus, on page 63 he says: —

"God requires of man what he *cannot* perform; *all* that God requires of man, man *can* perform. And now for the *truth* that will *shine to illuminate so dark a place.* Observe, with attention: God's *holy, just and infinitely perfect law*, stands in the *eternal constitution* of the *heavenly man*, the *second Adam*, the *Lord from heaven;* it requires *perfect holiness in Christ, the Mediator*, who is the *Lord* our righteousness. And in him we are able to

fulfil all righteousness, and stand unaccused and uncondemned. I say more, we have never violated that perfect law of holiness, in the heavenly nature, but have fulfilled all it required. But we are *unable* to fulfil those divine requirements in our *carnal*, or *old man*. I have already hinted, that perfect wisdom and knowledge were necessary, in order to fulfil a perfect law. And it is in *Christ alone*, that we find all the *treasures of wisdom and knowledge;* in him, we possess every ability to keep the law of God perfectly; but in the earthly Adam, we have not one single faculty that is fit for so holy a service."

Again, commenting on Romans ix. 21, 22, — the potter's power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor, etc., — he says: —

"The thread of the apostle's discourse to the Romans, in which he introduced the passage above written, was intended to show the distinction between law and gospel, or flesh and spirit. By turning to the eighth chapter, the reader will find himself assisted in the introduction of this particular. We then say, that as man stands in the earthly Adam, he is a marred vessel. Christ himself, when for us he was made a sin-offering, in the fleshly nature, was 'more marred than any man, and his form than the sons of man.' But in his resurrection, he was a vessel of honor and immortal glory; 'and as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also, bear the image of the heavenly.'" (Page 79.)

As in the "Notes on the Parables," Mr. Ballou here indulges in some fantastic interpretations of the Scriptures: —

"The *literal* death of the man, Christ Jesus, is figurative; and all the life we obtain by it, is by learning what

it represented. The *literal body* of Jesus represented the whole letter of the law, with all the allegories contained in the word of prophecy. The death of the body of Jesus represented the death and destruction of the letter, when the spirit comes forth, bursting the veil thereof, which is represented by the resurrection of Christ from the dead. Agreeably to this, the reader will understand all the sacrifices under the law, by which the High Priests entered within the veil." (Page 118.)

So, in comment on Revelation xiv., 10, 11 : —

"This beast, undoubtedly, is Antichrist; the worshippers of the beast are apostatized Christians of all denominations, since the Christian Apostacy : they have always been in wars and commotions, and have had no rest; and as for their being tormented, in all their public worship, with *fire* and *brimstone*, no argument is necessary, to make it obvious." (Page 136.)

So also, in exposition of the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. xxv., 1–13) : —

"The Jews, or God's covenant people, under the legal dispensation, are here represented by ten virgins. The close of the law dispensation, and the introduction of the gospel, is the time alluded to in the parable. The lamps, signify the rites and ordinances of the Levitical priesthood, which contained the light of the expected Messiah. The oil, which the wise had in their vessels, with their lamps, was the knowledge of what those figures represented. The foolish, not looking from these rites to the antitype, but expecting salvation by the letter, were called foolish. John was the friend of the bridegroom, and was the voice of one crying, behold, the bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him. Midnight, represents the state of gross darkness which then covered the

people. When Christ entered the *sanctum sanctorum*, by his resurrection, and those whom he had chosen were ready, the door of the law was forever closed. The situation of the Jews, ever since, is represented by virgins without, knocking for entrance." (Page 159.)

Although Mr. Ballou seemed inclined (page viii) to set the doctrine of future punishment aside, it cannot be said that he was fully prepared to deny it altogether. It is very certain that he argued (page 165) for reconciliation after death, on the ground of our moral nature.

In several respects Mr. Ballou's views underwent rapid and radical changes within ten or fifteen years from the time of publishing this edition, but no changes were made in the text of the work until 1832, on the occasion of the publication of a fifth edition. At that time all relating to "man's existence before his corporeal organization," to "the pre-existence of Christ," and to certain fanciful interpretations of Scripture, was omitted, and the fact was noted in the "Author's Preface."

But, as before remarked, the book as it originally appeared was a wonderful production. In plainness and force its style is in many parts a model; in directness and simplicity of argument it is seldom equalled. Taken as a whole it is the ablest work the author ever wrote, and its influence in changing and moulding theological thought has never been surpassed by any American production. In 1807 Rev. George Richards wrote to a brother clergyman: —

"With respect to the Treatise on Atonement, there is much ingenuity, great boldness, some wit, and I believe,

real sincerity; but I think you know my sentiments too well to suppose that I approve of everything therein, and I am almost persuaded that you are not a convert in total to his system. But when we have the pleasure of meeting, if this Treatise should be the subject of conversation, we will mutually change sentiments. It is, however, a popular work among our young ministers, and Kneeland has swallowed it in total." [1]

In less than ten years from the date of this letter, Mr. Dean, of Boston, and Mr. Mitchell, of New York, were the only Trinitarians in the Universalist ministry in America; [2] and it is quite safe to say that, also with these exceptions, Mr. Ballou's views in regard to man, as the party who needed to be reconciled by the atonement, as generally prevailed.

Several editions of the "Treatise on Atonement" have been published (as see appended Bibliography). About 1829 it was translated into German by Mr. John Golly, of Marietta, Pa., and printed by Jacob Grosh, of the same place. Many copies were distributed among the Germans of that region, and many by Mr. Golly in Germany in 1830.[3]

[1] Universalist Quarterly, 1872, October, pp. 448, 449.
[2] Ibid., 1848, October, p. 393.
[3] Trumpet, vol. iii., p, 36.

CHAPTER II.

1806–1814.

THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 1806. — ORGANIZATION OF THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1806. — REV. LEMUEL HAYNES'S ATTACK ON UNIVERSALISM. — THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 1807. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1807. — CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY UNIVERSALIST CHURCHES. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1807. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1808. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1808. — THE LAST SESSION OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION, 1809. — ITS WORK, AND THE CAUSES OF ITS DECLINE. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1809. — REV. WILLIAM BAKER. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1809. — REV. TIMOTHY BIGELOW. — REVS. NATHANIEL SMITH AND DAN SHAW. — REV. LISCOMB KNAPP. — REV. DAVID PICKERING. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1810. — REV. CALVIN WINSLOW. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1810. — REV. RUSSELL STREETER. — REV. EDWARD MITCHELL, COLLEAGUE WITH REV. JOHN MURRAY. — THE GLOUCESTER CONFERENCE. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1811. — REV. MARIA COOK. — REV. LEWIS BEERS. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1811. — UNIVERSALISTS IN ONTARIO COUNTY, N. Y. — STANDING CLERKS OF THE CONVENTION. — REV. JAMES PARKER. — REVS. MESSRS. ROSS AND MOORE. — REV. THOMAS BILLINGHURST. — REV. MR. UPSON. — REV. MR. BADGER. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1812. — REV. J. H. ELLIS. — ORDINATION OF REV. J. SHERMAN. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1812. — REV. SQUIRE STREETER. — REV. GEORGE RICHARDS AND THE CHURCH OF THE RESTITUTION. — REV. HOSEA BALLOU ON HEBREWS IX. 27, 28. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1813. — REV. SETH JONES. — REV. JAMES GOWDY. — REV. STEPHEN MILES. — REV. STEPHEN R. SMITH. — REV. CALVIN MORTON. — REV. PAUL DEAN, COLLEAGUE WITH REV. JOHN MURRAY. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1813. — LIST OF MINISTERS IN FELLOWSHIP. — REV. LORIN BIGELOW. — REV. SAMUEL BAKER. — REV. SAMUEL C. LOVELAND. — REV. NATHAN B. JOHNSON. — REV. EZRA LEONARD. — THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1814. — REV. ARCHELAUS GREEN. — REV. LEWIS PITTS. — THE GENESEE BRANCH ASSOCIATION. — THE GENERAL CONVENTION, 1814. — REV. DANIEL PARKER.

THE Philadelphia Convention held its regular session in May, 1806. The journal of proceedings has not been preserved, and all the information to be obtained concerning the session is conveyed in the brief

Circular Letter, from which we infer that the attendance was small, and that the churches belonging to the Convention found it difficult to obtain pastors. The following extract covers these points: —

"Our meeting was consolatory and our deliberations conducted with unanimity and satisfaction; although we lament that several of the Churches neglected to send messengers to meet and partake with us of the same happiness. We recommend those Churches which are destitute of a settled minister to meet on the first day of the week to worship God by prayer, and singing the praises of redeeming love, and reading a portion of the Sacred Scriptures, which, under the influence of the spirit of truth, are sufficient to make us wise unto salvation. And if any brother desires to make any verbal observations on the Scriptures thus read, he or they should be encouraged to exercise their gifts to the edification of the body."

On the 6th of June, 1806, the Western Association was organized. Rev. Mr. Stacy thus describes the event: —

"As the season approached that would call our ministering brethren from the east to preach with us, and counsel and assist us in organizing an Association, my heart beat high in anticipation of peculiar felicity. I could hardly wait its arrival. All preparations in our power were made for the coming event, to render it as satisfactory as possible to the visiting committee, and profitable to the glorious cause, by securing as large a congregation as we could induce to attend. Delegates from three societies (for only three yet existed within the limits of my knowledge in the State of New York), were appointed. Information of the meeting was widely extended through all the country, with earnest invitations, both to friends and opposers, to attend, and as

ample provision was made for their entertainment as circumstances would admit. The place for the meeting was appointed in Columbus, Chenango County; not because more Universalists, or friends to the cause, were there, or even as many as in other places; but because it was the most central location we could obtain, where we could find any accommodation. No Universalist Society was at that time thought of there; but Mr. Wooley had preached there a few times, and there were a few families in the immediate vicinity who were ready to do all they could for the accommodation of those who should assemble; and whose liberality was generous and ample. The country was new and thinly settled, at that time, and no meeting-house had been erected in that region by any denomination. But two brothers, by the name of Lamb (the youngest of whom is now a judge, and still occupies the same house), had just built a house, designed for a tavern, with a pretty extensive ball-room, which they generously offered and we gratefully accepted, as the most eligible place that could be found. And here we assembled on the sixth day of June, 1806, and were met by the delegation from the General Convention, Mr. Ballou, Mr. Farewell and Mr. Flagg; and a young man by the name of Paul Dean, who had commenced preaching something like a year before, and had received a letter of fellowship from the General Convention, at its session in September previous, accompanied Mr. Ballou from Barnard, Vermont. And here was organized the first Association in the State, which then and there received the appellation of 'The Western Association of Universalists in the State of New York;' and this was the third organization of the kind effected in America. Four discourses were delivered on the occasion, one by Mr. Flagg, one by Mr. Dean, and two by Mr. Ballou. A numerous congregation, for the time and place, were in attendance; and in the afternoon of the first day, and

both parts of the second, we were compelled to repair to the adjacent forest for our religious exercises, the chamber not being sufficiently capacious to hold a tenth part of the congregation. The weather was fine for the season, and we found ourselves comfortably accommodated, with the verdant and waving foliage of a dense forest to screen us from the scorching rays of a summer sun, and the trunks and fragments of trees, mostly for our seats; and here we listened with intense interest and fervent gratification to the preaching which, it appeared to me, was almost sufficiently piercing to penetrate the dark vault of the tomb, and powerful enough to raise the dead to life. Heaven's richest blessings were bestowed with a liberal hand. This meeting gave courage, confidence and strength to our friends, and alarmed our enemies. Such a congregation of Universalist preachers, it was thought, could scarcely have been collected together in the wide world! Why, there were six of them together! And, unexpectedly to me, in addition to the Societies already named, a delegation from a Society in Delaware County (I suppose under the preaching of Mr. Ferriss, though he was not present), presented credentials, and were received into fellowship; which made four societies, duly represented. What think you, brethren in the ministry? Would such a meeting as that be a subject of extreme congratulation and encouragement to you at the present day? But so it was to us, then. We felt that it was the 'Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes.' We received it as a pledge of divine approbation, and sure confirmation that the cause would prosper in our hands; and like Paul when he met the brethren at 'Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns,' we thanked God, and took courage." (Memoirs, pages 168–170.)

At the session the following year, the territorial bounds of the Association were declared to embrace all

the territory in the State of New York lying west of the Hudson River. Subsequently, as other Associations were formed in that State, these bounds were encroached on, but no change was made in defining the limits of the original Association till at the session in 1850, when the Association was declared to "comprise within its bounds the county of Madison, and so much of the county of Oneida as lies south and west of the Mohawk River and of the Black River Canal, from the point where it leaves the Mohawk in its course north; together with such other societies as may receive the fellowship of this body."

The General Convention convened in 1806, at Hoosick Falls, N. Y., at the residence of Eliam Buel, a man held in great esteem and honor in that region. No special business was transacted. Ordination was conferred on Rev. Paul Dean.

About this time books and pamphlets on Universalism, both *pro and con*, became somewhat numerous and frequent. It would be impossible to notice all in detail in the limits to which we restrict ourselves in this volume. For their titles the reader is referred to the appended Bibliography. But one deserves a special mention, not only for the circumstances under which it was produced, but also from the fact that many editions of it have been issued, and it is still distributed by the agents of the American Tract Society. We allude to the pamphlet entitled "Universal Salvation, a very ancient doctrine; with some account of the life and character of its Author. A Sermon delivered at Rutland, West Parish, in the year 1805, by Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M."

In June, 1805, Rev. Hosea Ballou was invited by many citizens of Rutland to visit that town and de-

liver a discourse. He accepted, and preached from 1 John, iv. 10, 11. "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." Mr. Whittemore says of this sermon: —

"The leading object of the discourse was to describe, 1st. The great love of God towards his creatures, whom he had created in his own image, while they were in a state of sin and guilt. 2d. The manner in which this love had been manifested through the Lord Jesus Christ; and 3d. The propriety, beauty and duty, of our loving one another, as a rational service arising from the manifestation of the love of God in Christ. These were the precise themes of the text. The sermon was distinguished for its kindness; nothing had been spoken directly against any class of Christians, except so far as preaching the plain doctrine of the text could be so regarded."

Rev. Lemuel Haynes, a mulatto, a man of good education, quick-witted, and greatly inclined to satire, was at that time pastor of a Congregational Church in West Rutland. At the urgent request, it is said, of his people, he attended Mr. Ballou's service, and on being introduced was invited to take part in the exercises. This he declined, saying that he only came as a hearer; but as the invitation was urged, he replied that he might be willing to make some remarks after the sermon was closed. Accordingly, after Mr. Ballou had concluded his discourse, he turned to Mr. Haynes and said, "There is now an opportunity for remarks, if you are disposed to make any;" when the latter arose and preached a sermon which contained no reference what-

ever to the subject which Mr. Ballou had presented, but was merely an attempt to hold up Universalism to ridicule as the devil's doctrine, and Mr. Ballou as the devil's agent. It was satirical and low-witted, and had evidently been studied and premeditated for some time. His friends always insisted that he made no preparation for it only while listening to Mr. Ballou, and that it was original as well as impromptu. Mr. Whittemore has well said:

"Mr. H. was not the author of the leading idea of his discourse, namely, that the devil was the first preacher of Universalism. This had been maintained by Dr. Ryland, of England; and it is probable that, among the English controversial books we have said had found their way into the library at Rutland, where Mr. H. resided, he had seen some references to Dr. Ryland's discourse, if not the discourse itself. It was entitled, 'The First Lie refuted; or, the Grand Delusion exposed; a Sermon preached at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's meeting-house, by John Ryland, D. D., June 15, 1800,' which was five years before Mr. H. broached the same idea. The two sermons both had the same text, and the same object, — they were both philippics against Universalism. As Dr. Ryland's had been noticed in several of the English reviews, we have but little doubt that Mr. H. got the first idea of his discourse from that source."

If the reader will turn to vol. i., p. 99, of this work, it will there be seen that Dr. Ryland was anticipated in his theory and argument, at least seventeen years, by American writers, — the authors of "Bath Kol, a Voice from the Wilderness."

Six months after preaching this abusive tirade, Mr. Haynes put it before the public in pamphlet form, as

already stated. In a preface the author expressed a doubt "whether, on the whole, the publication was for the interest of truth," but yielded his judgment to those by whom he was "urged to let the same appear in print." Mr. Ballou at once replied through the public press; and after the lapse of something more than a year, Mr. Haynes appeared again in a pamphlet entitled, "Letter to Rev. Hosea Ballou, being a Reply to his Epistle to the Author; or, his attempt to vindicate the old Universal Preacher." In this Mr. Haynes intimated that he should soon publish a review of the "Treatise on Atonement." "You say you have published a Treatise on Atonement. . . . I have read the piece, and, by the leave of Providence, perhaps you and the public will know my mind more fully about it before long." Mr. Ballou delayed his reply to Mr. Haynes's letter "until the review of the Treatise on Atonement should appear;" but as that review *never* came, here ended the controversy."[1]

Rev. Mr. Stacy says that large numbers of the pamphlet containing Mr. Haynes's sermon were circulated through the length and breadth of the land, that it —

"was extolled from the pulpit and recommended by many newspapers, as a complete exposition, refutation, and explosion of Universalism; and highly applauded in an Orthodox periodical, the first I ever saw, entitled, if my memory serves me, the 'Christian Panoplist,' and recommended to the perusal of *all*, but especially to such as had not *time to read* the Bible in reference to the subject! I found it in almost every place where I went; it was thrown in my face by almost every saucy boy, quarrelsome man, and petulant old woman that I met. It

[1] Whittemore's Life of Ballou, vol. i., pp. 236–251.

happened very fortunately that Mr. Ballou brought with him into that country, [on the occasion of his visit to the Western Association, in 1806,] a few of his letters addressed to Haynes on the subject. I therefore purchased one of Haynes's pamphlets, attached it to Mr. Ballou's letters, and got five hundred printed; and scattered them through the country, wherever I went. This had the desired effect. It not only put a stop to the exultation of opposers over Haynes's production, in that region; but it showed so plainly the absurdity of that tissue of low satire and blackguardism, as well as the unchristian and uncivil course pursued by the author, that it actually produced a reaction, and led hundreds to reflect; and paved the way for them to burst the manacles of bigotry and superstition, and come into the liberty of the Gospel. Thus was the wrath of man made to praise the Lord." (Memoirs, pages 174, 175.)

Of the session of the Philadelphia Convention in the spring of 1807, we have no further information than that the following preachers were in attendance: Rev. Messrs. Artis Seagrave, David Evans, Noah Murray, Timothy Banger, John Rutter. Rev. Mr. Thomas, in his "Century of Universalism," page 59, speaks of John Rutter as "a convert from the Baptists, a lay preacher among *them* and among *us*."

The Philadelphia Church, destitute of a pastor from the removal of Rev. Thomas Jones to New England, in 1804, called Rev. Noah Murray, in 1807, making a singular provision in their engagement with him, thus described by Rev. George Richards in a letter to Rev. Edward Turner, dated Aug. 17, 1807: —

"The Philadelphians, by letter from my friends, have a scheme in your favor. The Church has settled our old

friend, Noah Murray, at Eight Dollars per Sabbath, and they wish that Brother John Murray, yourself and myself would mutually agree with them to make an exchange with Noah for six months out of twelve, and that, while he is preaching here and there, we would supply; and on their part, they promise handsome pecuniary rewards. Whether a scheme of this nature will ever be reduced to practice, or no, is a thing which futurity will determine; but at all events, they are filled with an earnest desire to see you, and wish not to receive a negative to this request. And I may add that John and Noah have acceded to the terms, and they hope we also will." [1]

Revs. John Murray and Mr. Richards were in Philadelphia some portion of the time this year, but we do not know of any visits there by Mr. Turner. Mr. Richards had been for some time a great favorite with the Philadelphians, — having spent a few weeks with them in the fall of 1806, at which time he was unanimously called to become their pastor, at "a salary of $1000 per year." This was double the amount that he was receiving at Portsmouth, N. H.; but at the solicitation of his people, and some added considerations, he declined the call to Philadelphia.[2]

Rev. Noah Murray was in Philadelphia a year only; during which time the Church completed their house of worship.[3] The invitation to Mr. Richards was then renewed, and he moved to Philadelphia in July, 1809, remaining there till his death in 1814.

The Western Association held its session in June, 1807, at New Hartford. Revs. Hosea Ballou, Paul Dean,

[1] Universalist Quarterly, October, 1872, p. 451.

[2] Ibid., p. 446.

[3] Century of Universalism, p. 66.

and Richard Carrique were in attendance as a delegation from the General Convention. Since the previous session Mr. Stacy had been incessant in his labors. He speaks (Memoirs, pages 175, 176) of having introduced the doctrine of The Great Salvation into the towns of —

"Paris, Bridgewater, Deerfield, Litchfield, Westmoreland, Rome, Western, Floyd, Eaton, and Norwich, besides the villages of Utica, Whitesboro and Clinton; and various other neighborhoods in the towns of Hamilton, Madison and Sangerfield, where I could never before gain admittance; for the Gospel, in order to succeed, must be carried to every man's door. I cheerfully answered every call I could possibly find time to attend to, even from the smallest settlement; and felt abundantly rewarded if I could get ten or a dozen willing to listen to my message; and in the course of the year, a number of respectable congregations were got up in different places, and societies organized in the towns of Madison, Eaton and Western."

As might have been anticipated from these labors, and the growing desire to hear, the session of the Association at New Hartford was full of interest and was greatly enjoyed. Mr. Stacy says (Memoirs, pages 188, 189): —

"The Presbyterian meeting-house in New Hartford, was obtained for the occasion; and it was well filled. The delegates from the societies were punctual in their attendance, as well as many other individuals; and numbers from all the region where the doctrine had made any advances came to our 'yearly feast'; besides many whom curiosity led to hear something about that strange 'sect which was everywhere spoken against;'

and not a few of the Pharisees of the land appeared in our assembly — come in, no doubt, to 'spy out our liberty.' But whatever were their object or feelings, we were gratified with their attendance; feeling a confidence that the all-wise Governor of the Universe would overrule the whole for the advancement of the cause of divine truth. . . . This — and indeed all our annual associations — but this in particular, was a season of great encouragement and rejoicing to our friends, and to the lovers of truth in this region of country. They saw the standard of God's Universal Grace so firmly planted in this new but thriving country, that they now considered it beyond the power of the enemy to uproot it. A spirit of deep and thrilling interest was excited; and the opposing clergy began to see that they had something more to do, to stop the progress of the doctrine, than merely to treat it with contempt. They began, more zealously, to open their batteries against it; but they were careful generally, to ensconce themselves safely behind the ramparts of their own pulpits, where they felt secure from an onset. However, the more they railed against the doctrine, the more they excited the people to inquire into its claims for truth, and consequently the faster it spread.

"Our friends began to see the vast necessity of more labor in this part of the vineyard. One feeble individual was very incompetent to supply a tithe of the calls that were constantly pouring in, from every quarter, for the preached word. And indeed, so strong did our friends in Whitestown and vicinity feel, that they even thought of establishing here a ministerial emporium. They, or some of them, suggested the idea of engaging several of our preachers to settle in their town, and so radiate from this center, to spread the glad tidings of the Great Salvation toward the four cardinal points! And so zealous were they, that they could hardly be persuaded that such a scheme was impracticable. They felt exceedingly

anxious, at any rate, to engage the labors of Mr. Ballou; and soon after the session of the Association, addressed a letter to him on the subject. In his reply, he gave them to understand, that he considered that my field of labor, and he could not consent to settle there, to discommode or disturb me. As soon as they made this known to me, I assured them that so far from being discommoded or disturbed, by the removal of Mr. Ballou, or any other approved preacher of Universal Salvation, into this place, I should consider it an important acquisition, and most desirable; and if it would facilitate such an object, I would most cheerfully give up Whitestown to him, and every other place where I was preaching, if it would be any inducement for him to come; that the field was extensive enough for him and me; and, indeed, it needed many more laborers; and nothing could gratify me more than to have Mr. Ballou settle in Whitestown; and I immediately wrote him to that effect. But they did not succeed in obtaining his valuable labors. I then suggested to them the probability of their being able to obtain Mr. Dean. They therefore opened a correspondence with Mr. Dean, which eventuated in his settlement in that place."

The Association, as has been stated a few pages back, adopted a constitution at this session, prescribing its limits. It also adopted "The Winchester Profession of Belief." "This Profession," Rev. Mr. Smith says, "had already been adopted by the few organized Churches of the order." He further says: —

"The original organization of the society in Whitestown, appears to have been under a Confession of Faith and Covenant, which constituted its members *A Christian Church.* The constitution or by-laws which it appended, provided accordingly for the regular administration of

the *ordinances* — and the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, was usually administered *once in three months*, when the society had a pastor. *Baptism* by affusion or immersion, was sometimes chosen by candidates, either because they had not previously received it, or because some particular mode was preferred. And whenever desired, it was administered in the form pointed out by the candidate. A similar, if not the same compact was adopted by the Society in Hamilton; and probably by all, — at least nearly all the earlier organized societies in the state. So that nothing could be more slanderous than the oft repeated assertion of the enemies of the restitution, that 'Universalists had neither churches nor ordinances.' They had both, from their first establishment in Central New York; and continue to have them, in almost every place where the circumstances of the congregation will warrant similar organizations.

"There is one distinctive and benevolent feature in the constitution of Universalist Societies — which if not peculiar to the denomination, is probably not generally known — certainly not by other sects. It is a provision *for the poor*. And so faithfully is this pledge redeemed, that very few instances can be found in which destitute Universalists have been thrown upon the public charities. This regulation may not be adopted in every congregation — but as it was an important particular in all the older societies, whose *compacts* gave tone and form to others, it is probably the general rule with the denomination in New York."[1]

The General Convention met in 1807, at Newtown, Conn., and was a largely attended and profitable session. The usual committees were appointed to visit the annual session of the Associations, and the subject of a hymn-

[1] Historical Sketches, i., pp. 15–17.

book was referred to a committee, which completed their work, and published a new book — of which we shall give an account in another place — before the next session.

We have no information with regard to a session of the Philadelphia Convention in 1808, and the probability is that none was held.

The Western Association met at the village of Perth, town of Hartwick, in the Baptist house of worship, "and it was literally filled at every exercise, during this session," says Mr. Stacy. And he further says: —

"Mr. Ballou met with us, for the third and last time; but I cannot now recollect who were his colleagues, or whether he had any, on the committee from the General Convention, this year.[1] About this time, Mr. James Babbitt removed from Vermont into the town of Duanesburg, in this State, and commenced preaching in that town; and he also attended this Association. Mr. Ferriss, for the first time, took his seat in this council, and delivered one discourse.

"This, like the previous meetings of our Association, and all subsequent meetings, certainly for many years, was a season of rejoicing, of refreshing and encouragement. There was in those days, no competition for precedence, or pre-eminence — no jealousies nor heart-burnings toward each other; we met in perfect harmony. Our souls were absorbed in the love of the truth; we had no selfish ends to gratify; and no places of preferment to quarrel about; no heavy salaries were offered, nor popular applause rendered to tempt impostors to intrude upon us — we were glad to give place to those among us who could be the most useful to the great cause, which was the engrossing object of our whole souls. Indeed, we

[1] The records of the General Convention show that Revs. James Babbitt and Paul Dean were associated with Mr. Ballou.

were willing to be led by the most feeble hand to the rich banqueting-house of our conquering Leader, while 'His banner over us was love.'

"From this time I felt a peculiar renewal of strength. The cause had prospered beyond my most sanguine expectations; and the Lord was sending more laborers into his vineyard. Mr. Ferriss began to travel and preach, more than he had heretofore done; and Mr. Babbitt had removed within our limits — we could now count *three* preachers — Universalist preachers in the State of New York! and our societies were increasing in numbers and in strength. We had had an accession of two or three since our last Association." (Memoirs, page 195.)

The Northern Association, at its session in 1807, gave a Letter of Fellowship to Rev. Chandler Rogers, who, as will be seen by reference to the statement in regard to the adoption of "The Winchester Profession," was a "Messenger" to the session of 1803, from New Haven, [Vt.]. This is all that we have been able to learn concerning him.

The General Convention held its session for 1808 at Washington, N. H. The Circular Letter indicates great prosperity and encouragement: —

"A great and effectual door is opening in many places. Our respected brother H. Ballou has seen the wilderness and the desert blossom as the rose. A call for his usefulness is sounding from the East and from the West. The North is giving up, and the South has no power to keep back. Salem, one of the principal towns in Massachusetts, is preparing the way of the Lord, and our beloved brother Turner is saluted thence with the Macedonian cry, 'Come hither and help us.' The society in Gloucester, Cape Ann, united under brother Jones, are continually receiving additions; and have been enabled

to finish a large and elegant house. Brother Root has improved to much edification at Haverhill, Plaistow, South Hampton and other places, in the course of the summer. Brother Streeter has had many calls where the Abrahamic faith had been scarcely heard of, and improved his talents to the glory of God, and the happiness of His offspring. The Philadelphians are shaking themselves from the dust. Their temporal light has come in the light of brother Noah Murray, and the society is completing their Meeting House in Lombard-street, at great expense. A new and commodious house has been erected at Portsmouth, and the brethren generally appear to be grounded in faith, upon the rock of ages."

The Philadelphia Convention held its last session in the spring of 1809. There are no records of the session; but Mr. Kneeland, in the "Christian Messenger," Jan. 21, 1821, mentions the fact that the Convention then assembled, and for the last time.

Why did this Convention die? and why have the churches of which it was composed passed out of existence? It seems to us, as we reconsider their history, that three reasons may be assigned in answer to these queries: —

First, distance — at that time of difficulty in passing from one section of the country to another — was an obstacle to any general attendance upon the sessions so long as the Convention had but one place of meeting, and attempted to have but one general organization. And when at least three Conventions took the place of one, the scattered churches were too few in number, and too feeble, except in New England, to maintain such ecclesiastical relations. The Triennial Convention, which was proposed when the eastern and

western sections separated from the parent body, might have remedied this evil, as the subsequent organization of State Conventions did, but nothing was done towards carrying out that suggestion.

Second, with the exception of the Philadelphia Church (and the Boston and Gloucester Churches, represented at the first session only), the Churches composing this Convention were all small. In the largest the membership did not exceed fifteen, in several it was less than ten, and in one it was as small as six. They were also, almost without exception, and especially those located in New Jersey, in places thinly inhabited, where the young people could not be induced to remain, and which had for the most part been missionary fields for the older denominations represented in them, who freely bestowed aid on their struggling churches. And even the Church in Philadelphia, through inability to secure the services of a pastor, and other causes, had a severe struggle to keep alive, and could not, unaided, complete its house of worship.[1] In many localities, therefore, the churches probably developed their full strength at the start, all changes that occurred were against them, and removals and deaths inevitably extinguished the organizations.

Third, the uniform complaint from first to last was, that there were not enough preachers to meet the constant demands for the preached Word. A settled ministry, engaged to any great extent in pastoral work, was an impossibility, for where could such an one be supported? The nearest approach to it was probably in the single case of Rev. David Evans, at New Britain,

[1] See vol. i., p. 439.

and no doubt he was so dependent for his support on his daily labors on his farm, as to leave him no time for pastoral work. The other preachers were of necessity itinerants, and probably were obliged to resort to other labors a portion of their time, in order to provide for themselves and their families. That they did itinerate in large circuits, and that they understood the value of organization, and sought to band together those who were brought to the knowledge of the truth, is evident from the foregoing sketch of the history of the Convention. But grand and glorious as their work and its immediate results was, and however great and real their sacrifices, strong and overwhelming as were their arguments, and intense as was the satisfaction which they imparted to believing souls, permanent results and growing organizations could not be expected from an itineracy which was powerless to occupy the fields which it had conquered.

If to these reasons we add the facts that all these churches were subject to constant and unscrupulous persecution from other sects, that legal obstacles were thrown in their way,[1] that slanders were hurled against both preachers and people, that missionaries were multiplied and liberally supported in all the places where Universalism was introduced, and that Sunday-schools and kindred helps were then unknown, — we shall not wonder that the Convention died, nor that the churches at last passed out of existence, but rather that organizations of Universalists could have been formed in any of these localities, and that the Convention could have lasted so long as it did. For although individuals may

[1] See vol. i. p. 395.

be able to stand firm through such disadvantages and assaults, it certainly requires numbers, means, and the influence of those who can furnish more than counsel, to enable churches to maintain their ground under such circumstances.

But the Convention of 1790, although its age was but a score of years, did a good work during its brief life. If it could not harmonize differences, it made those who advocated the Great Salvation from various standpoints more than tolerant of each other. It brought them together in love and good-will, to work unitedly for the success of the spread of the truth in which they did agree, and thus demonstrated the possibility of uniting the believers in Universalism in one body. The Western Convention, to whose existence it consented in 1792, probably did not live more than two years; the poverty of the people, greatly augmented by the political difficulties terminating in an insurrection in the section of country where it was located, made sad wreck of all religious enterprises. But the New England Convention — for the organization of which permission had been given the same year — was a success from the start; and having a better field for its operations, a rapidly increasing ministry, and churches that soon grew to be more than self-sustaining, it had, at the time the parent Convention ceased to exist, greatly enlarged its field of operations, made radical changes in its plans of working, and became to several subordinate bodies the counsellor and authority which at the first it had recognized the Philadelphia Convention as being for itself.

The Western Association met in 1809 in Norwich,

Chenango County. Revs. Paul Dean and Richard Carrique attended as delegates from the General Convention. Two new societies were received into fellowship, — one located in Ballston, Saratoga County, and the other in Jericho (now Bainbridge), Chenango County.

"At this Association, too," says Mr. Stacy, (Memoirs, pages 202, 203,) "we were encouraged by the prospect of an accession to the ministry; and the addition of even one to our little band was abundant cause of gratulation. Mr. William Baker, a Methodist local preacher, attended this meeting, made a pathetic declaration of his conversion to the faith of Universal Salvation, and asked for a letter of fellowship as a preacher of the unlimited grace of God. But as he was a total stranger to most, or all of us, and had no letter or credentials commendatory of his moral or Christian character, we thought it prudent to require a certificate of regular dismission from his former connection, or, at least, some testimonials of his moral character; and therefore postponed any further action in regard to his request, excepting cordially greeting him, and advising him to improve his talent wherever God, in His providence, should open a door, until such credentials could be obtained. He succeeded in obtaining his vouchers, and, at the next session of the council, received a letter of fellowship. But alas! he was of little service to the cause; although a man of irreproachable moral habits, yet he possessed no strong intellectual faculties; was vacillating in his opinions, and not finding sufficient encouragement to satisfy his own mind, he, in a few years, left the ministry, and shortly afterward renounced the faith, and united with the Baptists. I visited him once after his renunciation, but used no argument to reclaim him. I merely remarked to him that neither his faith nor mine made or altered the truth — truth was eternal and unchangeable, and independent of

all faith; and, if he were happy, it was all I felt solicitous about in his case. But alas! he had lost his wonted cheerfulness, and a gloomy despondency had settled on his countenance."

The General Convention met in 1809 at the residence of Rev. H. Ballou, in Barnard, Vt. Mr. Ballou was about to move to Portsmouth, N. H. Mr. Richards had already gone to Philadelphia. The Convention took notice of these facts, and approved the manner in which the removals were being accomplished. Revs. Timothy Bigelow and Nathaniel Smith were ordained at this session.

Rev. Timothy Bigelow was a native of Vermont, and for a time was a preacher in the Methodist denomination. He became a Universalist probably about 1808. In 1810 he moved to Winchester, N. H., where he continued to reside till 1814, preaching in Winchester, Swanzey, Keene, Warwick, and other neighboring towns. Quite a number of his neighbors having emigrated to Ohio, he was importuned to remove there, being assured by them that "what they most needed was a Universalist Minister to break up the ground and sow the good seed, and they would have a good harvest." In 1814 he went to what was then the Far West, where he was industriously employed until the time of his death, in November, 1823.[1] He was an able man, full of wise zeal, and accomplished a great work for the advance of the cause of Universalism in Ohio.

Of Rev. Nathaniel Smith we have no information.

The Convention also granted letters of fellowship to Dan Shaw, Liscomb Knapp, and David Pickering. We know of no further mention of Rev. Dan Shaw.

[1] Letter from his daughter, Mrs. S. A. Daniels.

Liscomb Knapp was from Vermont, where he itinerated for a few years. He moved to Ontario County, N. Y., in 1812, and as opportunity offered, preached several years. Mr. Smith said of Mr. Knapp in 1843 (Historical Sketches, i., p. 54), that when he came into the State, he "was a young man, with an excellent moral character, and very good qualifications, as they were considered, for the work of the ministry. His subsequent life has done honor to his profession, and he has labored hard, and endured much in the faithful vindication of the truth." He died at Royalton, N. Y., on the 27th of March, 1845, aged sixty years.

David Pickering was a native of Richmond, N. H., and commenced his religious life among the Free-Will Baptists. Under the early ministry of Rev. Paul Dean he became a Universalist. His ministerial labors were in Barre, Shrewsbury, and St. Johnsbury, Vt.; Lebanon, N. H.; Providence, R. I.; Hudson, New York City, Buffalo, Newport, Aurora, Willink, Morris, Alden, N. Y.; and Ypsilanti, Mich. While a resident of Providence, he edited, for four years, the "Christian Telescope," a weekly paper, compiled a hymn-book, and published a volume of "Lectures in Defence of Divine Revelation," — a useful work, which received warm commendation from Christian believers in the various sects. In 1831 he threw in his lot with the Restorationist seceders from the Universalist fellowship; but ten years later, when the Restorationist Association ceased to exist, he returned to the communion and fellowship of the Universalists. During the last four years of his life he preached but little, on account of poor health, and especially the failure of his voice. He died at

Ypsilanti, on the 6th of January, 1859, in the seventy-first year of his age.

In 1810 the Western Association met at Madison, in Madison County, N. Y. Rev. Paul Dean moved into the State about this time, and he, with Rev. Richard Carrique, represented the General Convention at this session. Rev. Mr. Stacy thus speaks of the condition of affairs: —

"If no newly-organized societies were here represented, still an additional number of visiting brethren, from places where congregations had been collected, were in attendance; and loud and earnest calls, from various places where they had and where they had not had the privilege of hearing, were heard, and reiterated, for the preached word; and, thanks to the great Shepherd, we were becoming much better prepared to answer such calls. Mr. Ferriss was becoming much more zealously engaged. He was bred a Quaker, and still retained a strong predilection for many of their peculiarities; he went much by the movings of the Spirit; and the Spirit of preaching had now been given him, and he was laboring with renewed zeal, very extensively. Mr. Winslow was also itinerating through the length and breadth of the country; and Mr. Babbitt was supplying the calls in Hartwick, Otsego, and vicinity; and about this time removed his family into the town of Hartwick. Mr. Baker, too, having received the usual testimonials of fellowship, entered as extensively into the field of labor as his talents would enable him. But Mr. Dean, on his removal into this region, which took place not long after this, was altogether the brightest star of this constellation." (Memoirs, pages 213, 214.)

Rev. Mr. Smith, in his "Historical Sketches," also testifies to important changes in Central New York at

this time, growing out of the fact of additions to the ministry, and greater zeal and activity on the part of all engaged in the work.

Rev. Calvin Winslow, who at this session united with the Association, had been for several years a popular preacher among the Methodists, and a violent antagonist of Universalism. But in 1807 the death of a beloved child quite softened his feelings, and he sought an interview with Rev. Mr. Stacy, and propounded to him many inquiries with regard to the doctrine of Universalism. Cautiously feeling his way, and subjecting all questions to rigid investigation, he came at last to a firm conviction of the truth of Universalism, and made a public announcement of his convictions in September, 1809. For several years thereafter he was a successful and profitable fellow-laborer.

"But," says Mr. Stacy, "he was an unfortunate man. He had a good heart — never man had a better; but his unconquerable appetite for ardent spirits overpowered his judgment, and he became an inebriate! Long and affectionately did the Association labor to restore and preserve him, for all loved him; but our labor proved fruitless. Several times he came with deep contrition of heart — he was always sincere — and, with tears streaming from his eyes, confessed his sin, and begged forgiveness; but alas! his resolution was easily overcome, perhaps by the next decanter of spirits placed before him; and this, in his day, was too common and too dangerous a practice. The Association was at length compelled — but it was done with feelings of heart-felt sorrow and commiseration for his infirmities — at its session in 1817, I think, to withdraw from him the hand of fellowship; and he never afterward attempted to

preach. 'The voice of my brethren,' he said to me, 'is the voice of God, in this respect — I shall never try to preach again.'" (Memoirs, pages 184, 185.)

At this session the Association inaugurated the custom — which for many years prevailed — of holding quarterly conferences within the bounds of its territory. They were popular meetings, and were largely attended. Ever since its organization the Association had published annually the proceedings of the session, accompanying them with a Circular Letter. Mr. Stacy, who was always seeking increased facilities for spreading the knowledge of the truth, suggested the publication of a quarterly periodical, to be issued at the time of each Conference, to contain the minutes of its doings, and articles illustrating and defending the Universalist faith; to contain, "at least, sixteen pages, octavo, entitled the 'Religious Inquirer.'" Only one number, however, was issued, the matter being furnished by Mr. Ferriss and Mr. Stacy.

The General Convention met at Langdon, N. H., in 1810. It was a largely attended, enthusiastic, and profitable meeting. Rev. Russell Streeter appeared for the first time in the Convention as a preacher, and a Letter of Fellowship was received by him.

Mr. Streeter was a native of Chesterfield, N. H., where he was born on the 15th of April, 1791. Early in life — when about thirteen years of age — he was brought under the influence of a revival among the Free-Will Baptists, and began the study of the Bible, of which he was thenceforth a diligent and thoughtful student during his long life. At the age of fifteen he had become a sincere and earnest believer in the doctrine of Uni-

versalism. His general education was received at the academy in Chesterfield, and he studied theology with his elder brother, Rev. Sebastian Streeter, while the latter was settled at Weare, N. H. He began to preach when eighteen years of age, and though so young and inexperienced, met with great success in his labors. For about two years after receiving fellowship he itinerated in Vermont and New Hampshire. His settlements as a pastor were in Springfield and Rockingham, Vt.; Portland, Me.; Watertown, and Shirley, Mass.; and Woodstock, Vt. He died at Woodstock, on the 15th of February, 1880, having been a preacher seventy years; and for several years preceding his death he was the oldest preacher in fellowship in the Universalist Church. He was a clear thinker, quick in his perceptions, firm in his convictions, and expressed his opinions with great force and boldness. He published several sermons, was long connected with the denominational press, and, with his brother Sebastian, compiled a hymn-book, which was extensively used many years. Of this, and his connection with Universalist periodical literature, more will be said in another place.

Rev. Eli Ballou, D.D., in his sermon at the burial of Mr. Streeter, said: "Father Streeter in his studies of the Scriptures was the first one to discover and teach the Spiritual Coming of Christ in his Kingdom at the conclusion of the Jewish state — that *it is the coming* of the Gospel Kingdom itself or reign of Christ in this world." No publication of Mr. Streeter's teaching this doctrine has been found by us bearing an earlier date than his "Familiar Conversations," published in 1833, and there the subject is very briefly treated. And since

Rev. Warren Skinner published a special work on this theme — his "Essays on the Coming of Christ" — in 1830, we are of the opinion that Dr. Ballou was in error, and that the honor attributed to Mr. Streeter belongs to Mr. Skinner.

Mr. Murray having been stricken by paralysis on the 19th of October, 1809, was, during the remainder of his life, crippled, helpless, and dependent; and although "he sometimes appeared at church, he must have been actually borne in by his friends," and was unable to longer officiate in the pulpit. Rev. Edward Mitchell (see vol. i., pp. 464–473) was invited to Boston as associate pastor, and was settled Sept. 12, 1810. The connection was of short duration, however, being dissolved Oct. 5, 1811, when Mr. Mitchell returned to the pastorate in New York.

On the 23d of January, 1811, Rev. Messrs. Thomas Jones, Hosea Ballou, Abner Kneeland, and Edward Turner, met at the residence of Mr. Jones, in Gloucester, for the purpose of organizing a Conference "for religious discussion and mutual edification." After choosing Mr. Jones as moderator, and Mr. Turner clerk, they provided for "an annual meeting of the brethren in the ministry, for conference, on the third Wednesday in January, at such place as shall be thought most proper." They also —

"*Voted*, That all questions or statements proposed to the Conference shall have relation to the cause of religion, and shall become subjects of discussion, by being admitted worthy thereof by a majority of the members of the Conference, in which case they shall be recorded, with the names of those to whom they are committed.

That such questions and statements shall be discussed in writing during the recess of the Conference, and the answers and observations to them, if admitted by vote, shall be lodged with the clerk."

The records show that the following questions were then proposed and assigned: —

"1. By Brother Hosea Ballou: What Profession of Faith do the Scriptures teach us was set forth and required by Christ and his Apostles, the belief of which constituted a believer in the fellowship of the Apostolic Churches? Committed to Brother Turner.

"2. By Brother Ballou: As we view the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper a Gospel Institution, would it be inconsistent with right views of that Ordinance, to admit little children of sufficient age to attend public worship, to a participation of that emblem of a Saviour's goodness? [Not assigned.]

"3. By Brother Turner: As we are taught to believe that our Salvation is connected with and dependent on Forgiveness of Sin, and as we are also instructed that 'God will render to every man according to his works;' it is required how far such a retribution consists with forgiveness, and how we are forgiven while made subject to punishment? Committed to Brother Ballou.

"4. By Brother Abner Kneeland: As the Scriptures declare that Christ suffered, the just for the unjust, and by his stripes we are healed, in what manner is an application made of his sufferings to our salvation, to produce such an effect? Committed to Brother Kneeland.

"5. By Brother Thomas Jones: Whether it would be consistent with the order of our Churches, to give a

general invitation to the Lord's Supper on our Communion days, even to those whose names are not enrolled among the members, provided their morals are generally good? Committed to Brother T. Jones."

At an adjourned meeting, "May 29th, at the house of Brother Hosea Ballou, Portsmouth, N. H., all at the previous meeting were present, except Rev. Thos. Jones. Rev. Richard Carrique was also present. The Conference voted to take the name of the 'Gloucester Conference.'" Answers to all the questions except Nos. 2 and 5, were read, and it was voted that they be published in the "Gospel Visitant," and that "one thousand copies of the 'Visitant' be printed." The two unanswered questions were united in one, and "Rev. Thomas Jones was requested to write on the question in its united form."

The "Gospel Visitant," of which more will be said in another place, was a quarterly publication, originated chiefly as a medium of communicating the discussion of these and other questions to the Universalist public.

The Minutes of the Conference show but three meetings subsequent to those already mentioned, — one at the house of Rev. Edward Turner, in Salem, August 7, at which Revs. Jones, Ballou, and Turner were present; one at Charlestown, November 27, Revs. Ballou, Kneeland, Turner, and Sebastian Streeter, present; and the last at Gloucester, Feb. 26, 1812, Revs. Jones, Kneeland, and Turner in attendance. There is no record of further presentation of questions for discussion, or essays; but at the meeting in November, "Brother Ballou read a discussion of the following important subjects, which he had written: —

"1. The flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the Tree of Life, Genesis iii. 24.

"2. The two olive branches, Zechariah iv. 11, 14, and the two witnesses, Revelation xi. 3, 12.

"3. The Resurrection of the dead.

"4. The Second Death.

"5. Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison, 1 Peter iii. 19, 20.

"6. The period called the Millennium.

"The remarks made upon these subjects appearing correct and judicious, and the illustrations calculated for public instruction,

"*Voted*, that the manuscripts be lodged with the Clerk, and inserted in a future number of the Gospel Visitant."

The paper on Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison shows that Mr. Ballou must have been at that time a believer in future punishment.[1] He said: —

"The text says, 1st. That Christ has once suffered for sins. 2d. That, he, being just, suffered for the benefit of the unjust. 3d. That the benefit which was designed to result to us, as the unjust, from the sufferings of Christ, is our being brought to God. 4th. Christ being put to death in the flesh was his suffering for sin, and his being quickened by the Spirit enables him to bring us to God. 5th. Christ having been put to death in the flesh, and quickened by the Spirit, by which he had power to bring sinners to God, he went and preached to the spirits in prison. 6th. These spirits in prison, to whom Christ preached, were disobedient when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah. 7th. The preaching to

[1] The article is reproduced in full in Whittemore's Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou, vol. i., pp. 366–369.

these spirits in prison was performed by Christ after he was put to death in the flesh and quickened by the Spirit. The foregoing seven particulars are as plainly expressed in this text as we could reasonably expect that they might be in so few words; nor does it appear that there are any words wanting to carry those ideas with plainness to the mind. . . . The opinion which modern commentators oppose to that of the ancient fathers of the church is, that the preaching noticed in the text was performed by the Spirit of God in Noah, to the inhabitants of the earth in the days before the flood, while those to whom this preaching was sent were in the flesh. . . . There is nothing said in the text about the Spirit's preaching, or of Noah's preaching. To how many inhabitants of the old world is it supposable that Noah could have preached? The number must have been very few, in comparison with the whole. And yet, if he had had the power to preach to every individual of the old world, it ought not to be used to prove that Christ did not preach to their spirits, after he was put to death in the flesh and quickened by the Spirit, as stated in our text. . . . In this subject there is not the least ambiguity, nor is there any other difficulty than that it is as plain and direct a contradiction of the commonly received opinion, — that is, that there is no mercy to be communicated to those who die in unreconciliation to God, or in unbelief of the gospel, — as can possibly be stated. It may be proper, by way of indulgence, to ask which appears most warrantable, either to allow this subject to stand exactly as the scriptures above quoted state it, or to contradict those scriptures by limiting the goodness of God, without any authority from scripture for so doing!"

The final business of the session, and doubtless of the Conference, was to vote, "That Brother Edward Turner, assisted by any brethren in the ministry who

may be able to furnish data for the purpose, collect and prepare for publication in the 'Gospel Visitant' an account of the rise, progress and present state of the Doctrine of Universal Salvation in this country."

This first effort towards a history of Universalism produced no results.

In June, 1811, the Western Association held its session at Bainbridge, Chenango County. Mr. Stacy says of this session: —

"As no meeting-house could be obtained, our friends fitted up a newly built barn in as convenient a manner as possible, for the occasion. Such meeting-houses as that, we often had to occupy; and we felt ourselves highly accommodated when we obtained a clean one; nor did we think it a disgrace for Christians to worship God in a barn, inasmuch as a stable was the birth-place of the Captain of our salvation. Mr. Dean then resided within the territorial limits of the Association, and was consequently with us; and five others, heretofore named, who were members of this ecclesiastical body, were present, and a single individual, Nathaniel Smith, bearing credentials of appointment from the General Convention, with two other preachers of the Great Salvation, who had never before appeared among us; and singular as the circumstance may appear, one was a female.

"Maria Cook, then about thirty years of age, was escorted to that place by two gentlemen of the first respectability, from the town of Sheshequin, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, where she had been visiting for several weeks, and holding meetings. They introduced her to the council as a person of irreproachable morals, and with high encomiums upon her public labors. Some of our brethren and friends were a little fastidious about allowing a woman to preach, supposing St. Paul forbade

it, where he says, *he suffered not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority,* &c., while others thought differently, believing he would not have applauded the labors of so many female *helpers in the Lord,* if he did not, under suitable circumstances, approve of their public ministration. But as the phenomenon of a female preacher appearing among us was so *extraordinary,* and curiosity was on tiptoe among the mass of the congregation, to hear a woman preach, our opposing brethren finally withdrew their objections, and she very cheerfully obliged us with a discourse. And there was not a sermon delivered with more eloquence, with more correctness of diction, or pathos, or one listened to with more devout attention; nor was there another delivered during the session so highly applauded by the whole congregation, as the one she delivered. And so excited and animated were many of the brethren by the novelty, and so highly pleased and edified with her public discourse, that a letter of fellowship for her, as a preacher of the Gospel, was almost peremptorily demanded. She, herself, appeared quite indifferent about it. But as she came well recommended, both as to her religious and moral character, and as she certainly exhibited sound faith and a becoming zeal for the promotion of the cause, was well educated and possessed more than ordinary speaking talents, an informal letter was presented to her, which she modestly accepted. This letter of fellowship, however, she destroyed in a few weeks afterwards, because she thought some of the preachers, especially Mr. Dean, did not treat her with that kindness which the letter betokened; and she conscientiously destroyed (so she told me), what she considered an insincere token of fellowship.

"She there received numerous and earnest requests from the delegates from all the societies, and from nearly every visiting brother, to come to their respective societies and towns and hold meetings; and she readily com-

plied with as many of these calls as her time and health would permit. She possessed no means of conveyance of her own, nor did she desire it; some friends always accompanied her, and helped her from place to place. Her meetings, for a season, were the most numerously attended of any preacher of any denomination, who had ever travelled through the country, and were certainly quite advantageous to the cause of truth, as they called out many who, had it not been for the novelty of the circumstance, could not have been induced to attend a Universalist meeting; and who, after obtaining some ideas of the doctrine from her discourses, were inclined to hear others; and her remuneration by contributions was far more liberal than any preacher of our order received, or perhaps any itinerant preacher of any denomination. But Miss Cook had numerous opposers to the course she pursued, irrespective of the doctrine she inculcated, and especially among her own sex, who thought it very improper, and even indecent for a woman to preach, and especially to itinerate as she did. She was quite sensitive; and the vituperations and uncharitable remarks which were constantly falling upon her ears considerably discomposed her, and soon began to give quite a tone to her public discourses, by leading her into long arguments in vindication of her right to preach; which would not unfrequently constitute the whole burden of her discourse. This rendered them rather stale and uninteresting; the novelty of the circumstance subsiding, invitations became less frequent, and her congregations vastly decreased in numbers. She however remained in the counties of Chenango, Madison, Oneida, Otsego, and Herkimer, something like a year. She then made a visit to the region of Troy; and quite a lengthy stay (several months, I believe), among the Shakers; and then returned to her friends; for she had a mother, brothers, and sisters in Geneva and vicinity. After the lapse of a year or

more, she made our part of the country another visit; but her reception was not so cordial and flattering as on her first visit; still she had many warm friends in different parts of the country. She preached but little; and, in the fall of the year, took up her residence among some friends in that part of the town of Otsego called Pierstown, with a design to spend the winter. But some malignant spirit, who wanted to spit his venom against Universalism in some form, and no doubt thinking that by disturbing her he should injure the feelings of some of her friends, and thereby ingratiate himself into the favor of the Orthodox aristocracy, entered a complaint to the proper authorities, stating that such a vagrant person was in town, and liable to become a town-charge. Nothing could have been more untrue. It was generally known that she had a sufficient income to maintain her, secured to her by the will of her deceased father — to amply provide her a support under any circumstances. Her brother, on whom I once called by her request, when travelling in Western New York, told me, that at any time when she wished to return home, he would send for her; and, at any time when she needed money, let him know it, and he would send it to her; notwithstanding he and all her relatives were very much opposed to the course she was pursuing, and considered her under a mental derangement.

"But a precept was issued by Esquire F., of Cooperstown, and put into the hands of a constable, who immediately went in pursuit of her. Her friends remonstrated with the officer — told him there was no possible necessity for disturbing her, that they would become responsible that she should not be chargeable upon the town — but all to no purpose; he had received his 'letter of authority,' and 'haul her to prison' he would. He went where she had taken up her abode, and a ludicrous scene ensued. He was with a wagon; and he informed her,

that the law required him to take her to Cooperstown, before Esq. F. She told him he must do it then. 'Well,' said he, 'will you take a seat in the wagon?' She replied, 'No.' 'Well, how will you go?' She answered, 'I will not go at all.' 'But the law requires me to carry you there.' 'Well, I have nothing to do with the law; and, if you have, you must do your duty.' But how he should carry her was the question, if she would not get into his wagon. 'That,' said she, 'is your business — not mine.' The man was completely put to his trumps —she moved not, nor would she move, or make any preparations. It was about five miles where he wanted to carry her. He was finally compelled, as a last resort, to take her in his arms, and set her in his wagon, to which she made no resistance. The friend who gave me the information, circumstantially, took his horse and followed them, to see that she met with no personal abuse; for he felt confident they never could extort an answer from her to a single question. The constable drove to the door of the office, stopped his team, and remarked, 'This is Esq. F.'s office. Will you get out of the wagon and walk in?' She replied, 'No; I have no business with Esq. F.; if he has business with me let him come to me.' No persuasion could make her move from the wagon; and the constable left her, went into the office, informed the magistrate of the circumstance, and asked him what he should do. The magistrate told him to bring her into the office, where he seated her in a chair, when the following dialogue ensued:

"*Magistrate.* 'Miss Cook, inasmuch as a complaint has been entered, I have been obliged, by law, to issue a precept, and have you brought before me, not to abuse you, nor to injure your feelings, if I can avoid it; but to ask you a few questions relative to your place of residence, means of subsistence, &c.'

"*Miss C.* 'You can ask me any questions you please;

but I feel under no obligation to answer you, nor shall I answer any of your questions.'

"*Mag.* 'But will you not tell me your place of residence?'

"*Miss C.* 'No.'

"*Mag.* 'But the law requires it, madam, and I have but one course to pursue. If you will not answer the necessary inquiries, I shall be under the disagreeable necessity to commit you to jail, until you will answer.'

"*Miss C.* 'You can do as you please. I have seen demons in the seat of justice before now — I have a brother who acts in that capacity.'

"Not being able to obtain anything like an answer to a single question he proposed, the magistrate wrote a *mittimus* for contempt of court, read it to her, and handed it to the constable.

"*Miss C.* 'You have worded it right, sir, for you and all your proceedings are perfectly contemptible, in my view.'

"*Constable.* 'Miss Cook, will you walk out, and take a seat in the wagon?'

"*Miss C.* 'No.'

"The constable was therefore under the necessity of taking her into his arms again, and seating her in the wagon. He then drove to the jail, carried her into the building, and delivered her to the jailer. The keeper was a friendly man — his family resided in one part of the prison-house; and he told Miss Cook that she was welcome to his table, and gave her liberty to visit any apartment of the prison, or other part of the building she was disposed to see. There she remained, perfectly contented and happy, for several weeks; and while in these circumstances, she sent word to me that she was preaching to the spirits in prison. After some weeks, finding that they could neither drive nor flatter her to pay any

respect to their authority, the magistrate hinted to the jailer to get rid of her the easiest way he could.

"In the spring following, if my memory be correct, she made another visit to Troy, then returned to her friends, gave up travelling and preaching, and remained in retirement the rest of her life. I never saw her but once afterwards, which was many years since she had relinquished preaching. In the year 1829, I called on Mr. O. Ackley, in Hopewell, Ontario County, where I saw Miss Cook for the last time, and received from her tongue the most severe castigation that I ever received from any mortal, male or female. When I entered the house, I received as cordial and friendly greeting as I ever did, and that was as affectionate as I was in the habit of receiving from any person living; but she immediately remarked, 'Now I know what I was sent here for.' She then proceeded to inform me, that she had an irresistible presentiment that it was her duty to come to brother Ackley's, and to come that morning; and so powerfully was it impressed upon her, that she had walked the whole distance of ten miles before breakfast. She felt confident she had a call from the Lord to perform some important duty; but what that duty was she had no distinct perception until she saw me; but now the whole thing was unfolded to her — it was to admonish, to exhort me, in the name of the Lord, to be more faithful to my duty. She said, preaching was no longer of any use — she had been convinced of it a long while, and she was persuaded I must be also convinced. She firmly believed the doctrine — she believed it was God's truth, and would ultimately prevail — but it must be through other means than preaching. It must be done by work; that is by organizing an apostolic society — a community of interest, of property. This had been a favorite topic for many years; and she had made a number of efforts to get such a society established. She now

said, that I had sufficient influence to establish such a society, and it was my imperious duty to do it — that my preaching was of no use, nor had it been for years — that I had been losing ground for a good while past — that the Lord had begun to curse me for neglect of duty, and he would still heap curses upon my head; and she devoutly prayed that he would curse me more and more until I would do my duty in that respect, &c., &c. This was the last interview I ever had with Miss Cook. She lived a number of years after this in retirement, and, indeed, pretty much secluded from the world: but she lived and died in full faith of the ultimate universal purification and happiness of mankind." (Memoirs, pages 223–228.)

Miss Cook died Dec. 21, 1835, at Geneva, N. Y., in her fifty-seventh year.[1]

The other preacher mentioned by Mr. Stacy as having made his first appearance among Universalists at this session of the Association, was Dr. Lewis Beers, "of Spencer, Tioga County, but now Danby, Tompkins County, N. Y." Dr. Beers was an eminent and successful physician. He was a native of Connecticut, and brought up a Presbyterian. He became a Universalist without having heard a sermon in favor of Universalism. A copy of Ballou's "Treatise on Atonement" fell into his hands, and he addressed a letter to the author, requesting information concerning the Universalist organization, and what steps he must take in order to unite with it. Mr. Ballou, in his reply, informed him of the existence of the "Western Association," and Dr. Beers availed himself of the first opportunity to attend its session. Here he gave a discourse which evinced his intelligent

[1] Magazine and Advocate, 1836, p. 32.

reception of Universalism, and producing ample credentials as to his moral and religious character, received a letter of fellowship. Subsequently he became a Swedenborgian, united with the "New Jerusalem Church," and received ordination in its communion. He still retained his belief in the doctrine of Universal Salvation, and ever held that it was not incompatible with the doctrine of the New Church. Mr. Stacy speaks of him as "a good man, and a practical Christian."

We have but little information of the session of The General Convention in 1811. It was held at Lebanon, N. H., Sept. 17. Prior to this time the Minutes of the Sessions, although annually published, had not been recorded.[1] The Clerk had no duties assigned him beyond the time occupied in the session. But in 1811 a "Standing Clerk," Rev. Abner Kneeland, was appointed, with instructions "to collect, if possible, all the proceedings of the Convention since that body has existed, with the Circular Letters annually issued, and to record the whole, and from year to year make record of all such transactions in a suitable book, to be purchased at the charge of the Convention."

Mr. Stacy mentions that in October, 1811, he attended a meeting of a Convention "in that part of the town of Gorham which now constitutes the town of Hopewell," in Ontario County, New York. He found the organization, he says,

"to consist merely of what we ordinarily denominate a society; but embracing in its territorial limits the whole County of Ontario, which since that time, I be-

[1] Nearly a full set of these printed Minutes, or Circular Letters, is in the Library of Tufts College.

lieve, has been divided into two, three, or more counties; and they appointed two or more trustees in each town where congregations had been collected. And these annual meetings, which were uniformly held two days, were, in addition to their exercises of social worship, for the purpose of appointing trustees and other officers, and transacting the necessary prudential business of the society. They generally collected together on Saturday, or within such a distance that they could assemble at an early hour the next morning; attended religious service on Sunday, and transacted their Society business on Monday."

This was not their first meeting, nor does Mr. Stacy give us any information as to the length of time in which they had thus been organized. Mr. Stacy was accompanied on a portion of his journey to this meeting by Rev. James Parker, a Free-Will Baptist preacher, whose attention had for some time been favorably turned towards Universalism. Before the Sabbath closed he avowed "his conversion to the faith of the final restitution — the ultimate purity and happiness of the whole human family;" and at the business meeting on the following day, was granted a letter of fellowship. He preached the doctrine of Universalism during the remainder of his life, — about three years, — and died in its comforts. "He was," says Rev. S. R. Smith, "esteemed more for his moral and religious worth, than for his pulpit talents, but he exerted these with fidelity and becoming zeal."[1] There were four preachers in attendance on the meetings of this Convention whose residences were in the county, — Messrs. Billinghurst, Upson, Ross, and Moore. "Two of them,"

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. i., p. 88.

says Mr. Stacy, "Messrs. Ross and Moore, made little or no proficiency in the ministry." We do not remember to have seen any further mention of them.

Rev. Thomas Billinghurst was an Englishman by birth, and had been fellowshipped as a preacher by the General or Arminian Baptists, in Ditchling, Sussex county, England, in 1776 or 1777, when he was seventeen years of age. He came to America in 1795, and became a Universalist about the year 1800, about which time he settled in the town of Boyle, now Pittsford, Monroe County; and "so overjoyed was my heart," he said to Mr. Stacy, "at the discovery of this glorious truth, that, like Paul, I stopped not to confer with flesh and blood, but immediately began to publish the glad tidings to the world." Mr. Stacy visited Mr. Billinghurst at his home at the close of the Convention, and thus describes the situation and the people: —

"Here I found a settlement, almost exclusively of English people, consisting of forty, fifty or more families compactly situated; and a more intelligent, pleasant and harmonious neighborhood, I never found. Mr. Billinghurst's settlement in this place, while it was entirely new, almost a wilderness, constituted a nucleus around which they naturally gathered as they emigrated, one after another, from the Mother Country. And whether they were Universalists or not when they came, their national attachment, and the confidence they reposed in Mr. Billinghurst, induced them to attend his meetings; and at the time I visited them, there was scarcely an exception to their unity of faith in the Great Salvation. It was most refreshing and exhilarating to preach among them, to witness their profound and devout attention,

and the manifest effect the word was exerting upon their feelings." (Memoirs, page 244).

"Mr. Billinghurst," says Mr. Smith, "possessed a well-chosen library, which like his house and his heart, was open to every friend of truth and righteousness. And to this plain, intelligent and good man, and to the Society with which he was identified, Universalism is greatly indebted for its general prosperity in the surrounding region."[1] For twenty years he preached untiringly, without pecuniary recompense, and then, infirmities enfeebling him, he retired from the active ministry, but not from his interest in the cause of the Gospel. He died in Pittsford, March 20, 1845, aged 86 years.[2]

"Mr. Upson," says Mr. Stacy, "was a convert from the Methodists; he had been a licensed preacher in that denomination. He had already received a letter of fellowship from that society, and subsequently received similar testimonials from the 'Western Association of Universalists in the State of New York;' and he continued for a number of years to preach the doctrine to some effect, and remained firm in the faith, I believe, until the day of his death." (Memoirs, page 243.) We have no further information concerning him, unless he was the Rev. Asa Upson, whose death occurred at Stevens's Mills, Steuben Co., N. Y., April 27, 1861, at the age of 70 years. Mr. Stacy continues: —

"I was also informed that there had been a preacher among them of very respectable talents, by the name of

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. i., p. 89.

[2] See obituary in Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate, April 11, 1845.

Badger, a convert from the Presbyterian, or rather Congregational denomination, and a clergyman of that order, who, some years before came from Massachusetts; and whose labors had done much for the planting of the cause in that country. The memory of this man was held very dear by Universalists generally; but he had 'finished his course' a short time before this, not to exceed a year, I think, and gone to receive his 'crown of righteousness, which the Lord hath lain up for all who love his appearing and kingdom.' All these had labored with more or less zeal and success, amid other avocations, and succeeded in effecting such organization as I have before named. But Mr. Billinghurst and Mr. Badger were, by far, the most able and efficient laborers in this section of the Redeemer's vineyard.

"I gave them, at this meeting, a circumstantial account of the planting of the doctrine in Central New York — of its establishment and progress; of the organization of the Western Association, and its union with the General Convention in New England; and cordially invited them to unite with the Western Association for mutual strength and encouragement in our endeavors to extend the knowledge of the great Truth we were publishing to the world. They listened with much gratification to the account I gave them; for they scarcely knew that there was another body of Universalists as numerous as themselves, constituted in the wide world, and thereupon passed a resolution to appoint a delegate to attend our Association, with instructions to ask the fellowship of that body; and Elder Parker was chosen." (Memoirs, p. 243).

Both Mr. Stacy and Mr. Smith unite in showing that this and the following year witnessed great progress for the cause in the State of New York. Discussions were frequent, meetings numerous, and preachers and people were zealous and faithful.

The session of the Western Association in 1812 was held at Duanesburg, Schenectady County, and is reported to have been a season of great spiritual refreshment. Two preachers were present who had never appeared in that section before, and who at once took up their residence within the territorial bounds of the Association. One was Rev. Liscomb Knapp, mentioned in the preceding chapter. The other was Rev. J. H. Ellis, who had recently received the fellowship of the "Northern Association," in Vermont. Mr. Ellis was an Irishman by birth, and a convert from the Baptist denomination. He was a man of lively imagination, and much given to exaggeration in his discourses; and he seems to have been under censure for a grave offence, by the "Northern Association," at the time of his coming to New York, although the brethren in that State were ignorant of this fact, and greeted him kindly and congratulated themselves on the acquisition of a new helper. He was dropped from the roll at the next meeting of the Association in Vermont, and was never afterwards recognized as a Universalist preacher.

Later in the year 1812, Revs. Paul Dean and N. Stacy were applied to by a church in Manlius, which professed faith in the doctrine of the final holiness of the human race, but which shrunk from the reproach of the name Universalist, and preferred being called either Unitarian, Restorationist, or Unitarian Restorationist, to ordain their pastor, Rev. Jenkins Sherman, that they might enjoy the privilege of receiving the Christian ordinances. The request was complied with, says Mr. Stacy. "We solemnly set him apart, accord-

ing to our usual forms, to the work of the ministry of reconciliation, and as pastor of the church of his own planting. But he never formally joined our Association, nor were his labors extensively useful to the cause of Universalism in our region of country." (Memoirs, page 254.) This was certainly a liberal procedure on the part of Messrs. Dean and Stacy; and the incident is an illustration of the absence at that time of any binding rule on the subject of ordination. Mr. Smith says that "Mr. Sherman, formerly a Free-Will Baptist, was ordained Pastor by a Council of the Association;"[1] but Mr. Stacy, who was a participant, represents it as a personal application made to Mr. Dean and himself. The Records of the Association, 1812, show the correctness of Mr. Stacy's statement. Mr. Smith adds:

"Mr. Sherman was from England, and originally a member of the same congregation with the far-famed Dr. Carey — missionary to India. He had read much, and remembered with extraordinary tenacity, what he read. But he was neither an easy, nor interesting speaker. His mind appeared to be overloaded by its accumulations; and like a full store-room which contained many articles of sterling value, by want of orderly packing, if found at all, it was with difficulty and amidst confusion. But he was a Christian in the best sense of the term. He loved the gospel of Universal grace; and he lived in honest simplicity, an honor to its profession. The peace of his kind spirit rest upon his memory."

The General Convention met in Cavendish, Vermont, in 1812, at which time Revs. Russell and Squire Streeter received Ordination. Of the former we have spoken under date of 1810. Rev. Squire Streeter was

[1] Historical Sketches, i., p. 57.

lacking in essential qualifications for the ministry, and was not long continued on the list of "Approved Preachers."

The troubles between the United States and Great Britain, culminating in the war of 1812, seriously affected all the churches in the country. An open rupture was produced thereby in the church in Philadelphia. Including the pastor, Rev. George Richards, a hundred and fifteen persons withdrew from the old organization, and sometime in October organized a new church, styled the Church of the Restitution. They worshipped in the Hall of the University, in Fourth Street, below Arch, and their last meeting for business seems to have been in February, 1813. In their uniting compact they adopted the Articles of Faith of 1790, and declared that, "Making no distinction between the followers of James Relly and the disciples of Elhanan Winchester, we give the right hand of fellowship to both." The movement was disastrous to those engaged in it, and greatly crippled the church from which they had seceded.[1]

Sometime during this year, 1812, Rev. Hosea Ballou startled the opponents of Universalism, and surprised many of its believers, by promulgating a new interpretation of the passage recorded in Hebrews, ix., 27, 28, "And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation." Before this time the passage had been invariably regarded as teaching a judgment in the

[1] See Century of Universalism, pp. 68–71.

immortal world after the death of the body. Mr. Ballou's interpretation was wholly different, and is, as well as his reasons for it, concisely stated by Mr. Whittemore, as follows: —

"Mr. Ballou's attention was strongly attracted by the comparative words *as* and *so*. '*As* it is appointed unto men once to die, *so* Christ was once offered.' There is here an evident comparison between the death of Christ, and the death of the men mentioned in connection with it. There seemed to Mr. Ballou to be an allusion to the *sacrificial* character of the death in both cases. He saw reason to doubt that the apostle was speaking of the *common death of all men*, for that is not *sacrificial*. At this juncture, the true sense of the passage flashed upon his mind. He saw that the men mentioned were *the men* or priests who offered sacrifices under the law, and died in form for the sins of the people; so (that is, for a like purpose) Christ was once offered to bear the sins of mankind. Mr. Ballou remembered that the great object of the epistle to the Hebrews was to commend Christianity to them more fully than it had been done before. The author of that epistle wished to show them that there was nothing good in the law [to which they were inclined to turn back] which had not something corresponding and more glorious in the gospel. The high priest entered into the inner tabernacle, or holiest place of all, *once* in every annual sacrifice; but not without blood, which he offered for himself and for the errors of the people. The service was a sacrifice, the death was a sacrificial death. The priest did not actually die, but the shedding of his blood was represented by the shedding of the blood of goats and calves. He died figuratively in the sacrifice. The next point of inquiry was, What judgment succeeded to this? for the words are, 'after this the judgment.' The answer to this question was speedily

attained, by a reference to the ceremonies of the annual sacrifice. In fact, the judgment was an important part of the service. If the ceremonial death of the priests, the men under the law, was the *sacrifice*, the judgment was the *expiation*. The judgment is fully described, as Mr. Ballou discovered, in the description given by Moses of the services of the Jewish ritual. The high priest, after his sacrificial death (represented by the shedding of the blood of animals), went into the holy place, as Christ ascended into heaven after his resurrection. When the high priest entered the holy place, he bore *the judgment* of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord. Their names were written upon his breast-plate, which was hence called 'the breast-plate *of judgment*.' Mr. Ballou's mind turned, with great satisfaction, to the words of Moses, Exodus xxviii. 29–30, 'And Aaron (the high priest) shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breast-plate *of judgment* upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually. And thou shalt put in the breast-plate *of judgment* the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord: and Aaron shall bear *the judgment of the children of Israel* upon his heart before the Lord continually.' By this passage the subject is made quite plain; the high priest went 'in before the Lord,' he bore *the judgment* of the children of Israel upon his heart. According to the form of the ritual, the judgment could not come before the death. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews, in describing to them the good things of the gospel, says, that under the law it is appointed unto men (that is, the priests) once to die in each annual sacrifice; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; he died as the high priest of the Christian church. The Jewish priest returned from the holy of holies, bearing the justification of the people

upon his breast; so Christ should appear a second time, without sin, unto salvation. Such is evidently the meaning of the words in Heb. ix. 27, 28, and this interpretation blends in excellent harmony with the context. So far as we know, this was the first time that any modern writer had seen the true sense of the passage. [Mr. Whittemore adds] Mr. Ballou felt great joy. He immediately communicated to his dear friend, Rev. Edward Turner, of Salem, the fact he had discovered. Mr. Turner received the announcement with approbation, and communicated the intelligence to Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, who pronounced Mr. Ballou's interpretation to be the true sense, beyond a doubt." [1]

This view was subsequently endorsed by the learned Dr. H. Ballou, 2d, in his "Letters to Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D.," published in 1833: —

"You say not a word of the light thrown upon this passage by the context, though I think you are aware that Universalists have often pointed it out. Does not the tenor of the whole chapter, together with that of the succeeding, show that the death here mentioned was the figurative death of those men, the Jewish high priests, of whom the apostle had been treating? If this supposition is incorrect, why will you not meet it, and at least *attempt* to expose it? Or, if you will not condescend to this, take the passage on your own ground, and attempt to show me how a judgment in eternity, full of guilt and damnation, answers to Christ's appearing the second time without sin unto salvation; to which St. Paul certainly compared that judgment of which he was speaking."

Until quite recently, Mr. Ballou's exposition has been generally accepted by Universalists. On critical

[1] Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou, vol. i. pp. 381–384.

grounds, necessitated by an examination of the original Greek, it is now claimed by some that there is reason to question its correctness.[1]

The Western Association met in June, 1813, in the village of New Hartford, Oneida County, and enjoyed an important and encouraging session.

"It is difficult since the multiplication of similar ecclesiastical bodies [says Mr. Smith], to appreciate the feelings with which the meetings of this Association were anticipated. Individuals at the distance of 100, or 150 miles from the place of meeting, made their calculations and commenced their arrangements sometime in advance of the session. And when the time came, old and young congregated for the renewal of friendships, to exchange salutations — and above all things, to enjoy a season of rational and high devotion. All became excited — and there was a power and a pathos in the public discourses that kindled and augmented the zeal of the congregations; and all felt that it was indeed 'none other than the house of God and the gate of Heaven.' The best talents in the denomination were called out and put in requisition, and the time and circumstances were every way calculated to make an impression, which would be felt for months to come, in every department of the Order." [2]

The society in the County of Ontario, previously mentioned, was received into fellowship, as were Mr. Knapp and Mr. Parker, — the ministers present from that portion of the State. Letters of fellowship were also granted to Revs. Seth Jones, James Gowdy, Stephen Miles, and Stephen R. Smith. Of the former, Mr. Smith says: —

[1] See the Universalist Quarterly for January, 1883; and the Christian Leader, April 16, 1885.

[2] Historical Sketches, i. p. 70.

"Mr Jones had been a Baptist preacher some twelve years; and had already preached the restitution for a season when he received the fellowship of the Association. He was profoundly destitute of that species of knowledge derived from books, but possessed a remarkable fluency in the delivery of his discourses. His mind was strong and clear, and his language — which frequently defied all grammatical rules, rolled on in one steady and unbroken current from the beginning to the end of his sermons. He was perfectly enamored of the doctrine of illimitable grace, and he preached it in all its fulness and power, at all times, in all places, and on all occasions — in sermons of almost interminable length.[1] For when his tongue was once set in motion — the theme was so vast, the subject so grand, so good, so transporting, that he seemed never to know when to stop. Of all our number, he was possessed of far the most natural eloquence, of the most commanding figure and most interesting and prepossessing appearance. He had a noble face and an expressive countenance, and when lighted up by the animation inspired by his subject, and accompanied by the music of a most flexible and powerful voice — few men appeared to better advantage, and none commanded more profound and fixed attention. His constant practice of delivering a whole body of divinity in every discourse, gave a sameness to his desk labors that was unsuited to the wants of any single congregation — but this very circumstance rendered him eminently useful as an itinerant preacher."[2]

Mr. Jones resided in Oneida County until 1835, when

[1] Mr. Stacy says: "I have never seen a crowded congregation more captivated, more enamored, sit with more ease, under the preaching of any living man, than under him, in a discourse two or three hours long." (Memoirs, page 255.)

[2] Historical Sketches, i. pp. 71, 72.

he removed to Sacketts Harbor, Jefferson County, N. Y., where he died on the second of June, 1862, aged about eighty-five years.

Rev. James Gowdy was also a Baptist preacher, having been in the fellowship of that church as a public speaker seventeen years before he became a Universalist. He was a plain, unlettered man, and uninteresting as a speaker. His ministry among us, says Mr. Stacy, "was more circumscribed, and of less celebrity and utility than either of the others" fellowshipped at this time. He remained a zealous advocate of the faith until his death, which occurred in Western, Oneida County, N. Y., on the 24th of March, 1837, when he was in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Rev. Stephen Miles was also a Baptist, but not a preacher in that Church. His ministry was a useful one, and, with the exception of a brief pastorate in Ann Arbor, Mich., was spent in the State of New York. He died suddenly on the 6th of January, 1851, while on a visit to his son in Rochester. In noticing his death and burial, Rev. G. W. Montgomery said: —

"He loved his Bible and his faith. The gospel was his delight. He was happy when preaching it. He was glad to converse about it, for it was the leading topic of his conversation. He lived near to his Saviour. The future world and its glories were to him felt realities. He never wavered in his faith, and therefore, his preaching was always accompanied by the stamp of sincerity. As a preacher he was acceptable, and sometimes peculiarly so. . . . He lived his faith. He showed that it was an influence which regulated his life. His conduct was irreproachable. In all his relations, he was highly esteemed. He had no enemies; for he gave no occasion

for any. He was indeed a Christian man. His example never reproached his profession." [1]

Rev. Stephen R. Smith was, says Mr. Stacy, —

"by far the most important acquisition. He had never belonged to any Partialist denomination; his mind had never been imbued nor soiled with the false theology of the schools. His first religious breath was drawn in the pure and uncontaminated atmosphere of the Gospel of Christ; where its great and glorious doctrines fell upon a soil free from thorns and noxious weeds, and of sufficient strength to bring forth 'an hundred fold.' He had not, I believe, publicly addressed a congregation previous to that time; but so well acquainted with him were many members of the council, and such confidence had they in the correctness of his opinions, in the strength of his faith, the stability of his character, his integrity and moral worth, in his studious habits, his indefatigable zeal, and the expanding powers of his giant mind, that, unsolicited by him, a letter of fellowship was proffered to him by the unanimous voice of the council, which he modestly accepted. Time has shown the correctness of their judgment, and how fully their anticipations have been realized, and more than realized, by his extensive and valuable labors. He stands justly, and his name ever will stand, upon the faithful page of history, at the head of the Universalist clergy in the State of New York. This is not fulsome panegyric; it is the solemn conviction of one who has been intimately acquainted with him from the commencement of his ministerial labors up to the present moment. And it is said without meaning the least disparagement to the numerous learned, pious, and able divines who now grace the ranks of the Universalist clergy in that state." (Memoirs, pages 255, 256.)

[1] Christian Ambassador, Jan. 18, 1851.

Mr. Smith was born at Albany, N. Y., on the 27th of September, 1788, and died at Buffalo, N. Y., the 17th of February, 1850. Never of robust health, and on several occasions compelled by physical disability to be inactive, his career was nevertheless characterized by great industry, and many important denominational achievements. As the appended bibliography will show, he greatly enriched our church literature, and exerted a deep and lasting influence by means of the printed page. Not the least of the valuable contributions in this form to our books of permanent value were his volumes of "Historical Sketches of the History of Universalism in the State of New York," a work which rescues from oblivion the names and labors of many worthy men, and which will be more fully appreciated as time passes on. Of his efforts in the cause of education, — in which field he was pre-eminently our pioneer, — and of his connection with the Universalist press as publisher and editor, mention will be made in other portions of this volume. His theological training was begun in 1812, under the direction of Rev. Paul Dean, at New Hartford, N. Y., and further prosecuted under Rev. Richard Carrique, at Charlton, Mass.; and his first sermon was preached "the last Sunday in August, 1813, in the Baptist Church, near the pond, in East Brookfield, Mass." His pastorates were in New Hartford, Clinton, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Clinton (a second time), Albany, Buffalo, N. Y.[1]

Sometime after this session of the Western Associ-

[1] For a more detailed account of Mr. Smith's services, and for a just estimate of his abilities and worth, see "Memoir of Rev. Stephen R. Smith. By Thomas J. Sawyer. Boston, 1852."

ation, Rev. Calvin Morton was ordained at Saratoga. Mr. Smith speaks of him as having been "formerly a Baptist," and intimates that he commenced preaching Universalism in 1813.[1] Mr. Stacy considers this an error: —

"Mr. Morton and I were natives of the same State, and from adjacent towns. He began his ministry about the same time as myself [1802], preaching occasionally in the town of New Salem, where he married his first wife, with whom I was acquainted. He commenced a Universalist. I will not dare *affirm* that he never belonged to a Baptist church, but I am strongly impressed with a belief that he never did. For some reason he did not see fit to devote his whole time to the ministry, as I did, at that time. For some years he was out of my knowledge, and until he buried his first wife. After he lost his first wife, who was educated a Baptist, and I conclude never became a believer in his doctrine, he resumed his ministry, worked his way from Vermont, where, it appears, he had resided for some years, into this State, and eventually reached the region of my residence." (Memoirs, page 284.)

Mr. Morton died at Conewango, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., on the 9th of February, 1848, aged seventy-two years, having been "an honest and devoted servant of Christ," and a preacher "for over forty-five years." [2]

In August, 1813, Rev. Paul Dean left Central New York, and returned to New England, and on the 19th day of that month was installed as associate pastor with Rev. John Murray, at the First Universalist Church in Boston. Mr. Murray was present at the service, but was very feeble.

[1] Historical Sketches, i. p. 73.

[2] Magazine and Advocate, March 10, 1848.

The General Convention met on the 14th of September, at Winchester, N. H. A correspondence between some of the brethren and the Universalists in England was reported, and it was voted that it be continued in the name of the Convention, and a committee was appointed to conduct it. The standing clerk reported that he had collected and recorded the minutes of the Convention, "from its first organization up to the present time, being twenty years." A list of "preachers in fellowship with the Convention" was published in the printed proceedings, — forty in all, — as follows: —

District of Maine: Thomas Barns, Poland; Isaac Root, Turner; Samuel Baker, Thomaston.

New Hampshire: Hosea Ballou, Portsmouth; Squire Streeter, Weare; Russell Streeter, Swanzey; Timothy Bigelow and Loring Bigelow, Winchester; Zephaniah Lathe and David Pickering, Lebanon; Levi Sadler, Temple; Samuel C. Loveland, Gilsum.

Vermont: Daniel Shaw, Bradford; Nathan [Nathaniel ?] Smith, Windsor; Cornelius G. Person, Andover; William Farewell, Barre; Nathan B. Johnson, Bridgewater; Samuel Hilliard, Cavendish.

Massachusetts: John Murray, Paul Dean, Boston; Thomas Jones, Ezra Leonard, Gloucester; Edward Turner, Salem; Abner Kneeland, Charlestown; Richard Carrique, Charlton; Joshua Flagg, Dana; Sebastian Streeter, Haverhill; David Ballou, Rowe.

Connecticut: Solomon Glover, Newtown.

New York: Caleb Rich, Hoosick; Nathaniel Stacy, Hamilton; Joshua [Seth ?] Jones, Newport; Stephen R. Smith, Rome; Calvin Winslow, Butternut; William

Baker, Columbus ; Edwin Ferriss, Jericho ; James Parker, Benton ; Jenkins Sherman, Manlius ; James Gowdy, Western ; Liscomb Knapp, Boyle.

Twelve of these names appear (as see preceding chapter) in the list of those in fellowship in 1801; viz., John Murray, Edward Turner, Hosea Ballou, Caleb Rich, David Ballou, Solomon Glover, Thomas Barns, Cornelius G. Person, William Farewell, Edwin Ferriss, Joshua Flagg, George Richards. Twenty of the additional twenty-eight have already been mentioned in this and the preceding chapter.

Rev. Lorin Bigelow was a son of Rev. Timothy Bigelow, mentioned under date of 1809. He accompanied his father to Palmyra, Ohio, in 1814, but being frail in body, did not preach with much regularity. In 1819, his father's brother, who was an eminent physician in Greensburg, Pa., persuaded him to go to his home in that place, believing that his health would be greatly improved thereby. Remaining in Pennsylvania seven years, during which time he studied medicine, he returned to Palmyra in much better health than he had ever known before, and established himself there for the remainder of his life as a physician, in which profession he obtained great success. Always interested in Universalism and doing much for its advance, he never attempted to preach after taking up the practice of medicine. He died at Palmyra, in 1876, aged eighty-four years.[1]

Rev. Samuel Baker had been pastor of the Baptist Church in Thomaston, Me. After he became a Universalist his first preaching of his new faith was in

[1] Letter of his sister, Mrs. S. B. Daniels.

Hallowell, in the same State. Of his subsequent career we have no information.

Of Rev. Levi Sadler we know nothing, other than that he was the father of Rev. Levi L. Sadler, who entered the Universalist ministry some fifteen or twenty years later, and that he died in Genesee County, N. Y., about 1835.

Rev. Samuel C. Loveland was born in Gilsum, N. H., August, 1787. The schools of that day in his obscure neighborhood afforded him very few advantages, but the thirst for knowledge was strong within him, and his especial desire for the acquisition of languages made him, after many years' discipline and study, quite proficient in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, French, Spanish, German, Danish, and Modern Greek. In acknowledgment of his literary attainments, Middlebury College conferred on him the honorary degree of A.M., — the first favor of the kind shown to any Universalist preacher. Mr. Loveland received the fellowship of the General Convention at Cavendish, Vt., in 1812, and was ordained at its session in Westmoreland, N. H., in 1814. In 1821 he became the editor and publisher of "The Christian Repository," — a paper in defence of Universalism. In 1827, yielding to the solicitations of his fellow-citizens, he became greatly interested in public affairs, and so continued several years, during which he served the people as representative, senator, judge, and lieutenant-governor, in Vermont. Some ten or more years later he devoted his time to his books and to the work of the ministry, in which service he continued until stricken by paralysis, about a year before his death. He died at South Hartford, N. Y., April 8, 1858.

Rev. Nathan B. Johnson removed to Huron County, Ohio, probably as early as 1814, having before that time been settled in Vermont. He remained in Ohio as late as 1821, after which we have no trace of him in the ministry. He is reported to have died in 1853.

Rev. Ezra Leonard was born in Raynham, Mass., Sept. 17, 1774. In 1797 he united with the Congregational Church in his native town. Four years later he graduated from "Rhode Island College," now "Brown University," and commenced the study of theology — probably before leaving college — with Rev. Otis Thompson, of Rehoboth; and subsequently studied under the direction of Rev. Perez Fobes, of Raynham. In 1804 he commenced his ministerial labors with the Congregational Church and society in the third parish in Gloucester (commonly called Annisquam). Before the close of the year he was ordained, and during the remainder of his life he continued to hold this position, faithfully discharging the duties of a religious teacher and pastor. In 1811 Mr. Leonard became convinced of the truth of the doctrine of Universal Salvation, and having settled the matter firmly in his own mind, announced his change of belief to his congregation. The writer has in his possession a fragment of what is probably the sermon preached by Mr. Leonard in making the above-mentioned announcement. In this he enumerates the works and arguments for and against the doctrine, which he had read, and with which he made himself familiar. He then adds: "About six months ago, I put them all aside, and began to search the Scriptures anew, prayerfully and very attentively. And at present I am convinced by the Spirit of Truth which I find

there, that Grace will reign as universally as sin has reigned." The result of this avowal was, that a very few of the congregation withdrew from his ministry, while the great majority, having confidence in their pastor as an honest and learned man, remained. The only action taken by the parish was a vote passed in December, 1811, "that he should continue to preach to them till the next March meeting." At the March meeting the opposition was feeble, and thereafter there were no manifestations of it. In 1825 Mr. Leonard, with a desire to render himself more useful to his people, commenced the practice of medicine, having received the degree of M. D. from his Alma Mater. By this means he was of great service, especially to the poor of his parish. He died of lung fever, April 22, 1832. He was a man of unbounded generosity, benevolent to the unfortunate at the expense of his own comfort, and ever zealous in the proclamation of the truth. One who knew him intimately thus describes his peculiar characteristics: "He was one of the most amiable of men, — even in temper, tender in heart, warm in his love of truth, zealous in his proclamation of it, and ever attentive, above all things, that his conduct should conform to its holy influences." [1]

In 1814, at the session of the Western Association, held in Sherburne, Chenango County, N. Y., two accessions were made to the ministry, — Dr. Archelaus Green and Lewis Pitts. Dr. Green had been for several years an approved preacher among the Baptists. He is thus described by the late Rev. S. R. Smith:

[1] Trumpet and Magazine, May 19, 1832.

"Small of stature, of meagre aspect, with a thin and feeble voice, he was laborious, ardent and eccentric. He abounded in good humor — related innumerable anecdotes; and strangely mixed up his fun with his devotions. His patience and forbearance were absolutely inexhaustible. He preached discourses respectable for their soundness and moral bearing; but he illustrated them with the most grotesque and laughable materials. He seemed to recur to things the most singular and out-of-the-way imaginable; and yet nothing ever came amiss, or in such shape that he could not mould it to his purpose. But with all his oddity he was always honored and loved as a good man." He was a physician of good repute, and did not therefore wholly give himself to the ministry. His death occurred at Virgil, N. Y., Dec. 25, 1843, when he was seventy-four years of age.

Rev. Lewis Pitts had been a *local* preacher among the Methodists. Little is known of his abilities. After preaching Universalism a few years he became a Swedenborgian, and dropped out of the ministry.

The "Society in the county of Ontario," was represented at this session of the Western Association, and, through their delegate, asked for the organization of a Branch Association in Western New York. The request was granted, and in the fall the "Genesee Branch of the Western Association," was duly organized.

At the session of the General Convention at Westmoreland, N. H., September 20th, a vote of patronage was passed in reference to a contemplated seminary, "embracing the united interests of religion and literature;" and a committee was appointed to promote the

object in view with all the means at their command. A detailed account of this effort will be given in another place. The Convention also voted — probably for the purpose of making all ordinations and changes in the ministry matters of record —

"That, when any Brother in the Ministry, holding Fellowship with this Convention, receives Ordination or Installation over any Church or Society, or takes up [dissolves] such connection, it shall be the duty of such Brother to make due return to the General Convention of such proceedings." [1]

This is the first mention of the subject of ordination "in the recess of the Convention," since 1803, when a committee was appointed to receive and act on applications for this service, — an appointment not repeated, so far as the records show, in subsequent years.

The cause received a fresh impetus at the West by the conversion of Rev. Daniel Parker. Mr. Parker was born in Newburyport, Mass., Aug. 7, 1781. His parents were Presbyterians, and his early training was in their views, in the belief of which he continued till about the year 1800, when he became, while residing in Marietta, Ohio, a "Halcyonist," — a sect believing in conditional immortality. In 1814 he worked his way out of this dogma by a diligent study of the Scriptures, and publicly avowed his belief in Universal Salvation. He commenced preaching in or near Cincinnati, and continued his itinerant labors — besides publishing a book on the subject in 1844 — until his death in 1861. Although Mr. Parker never sought the formal fellowship

[1] Convention Records, vol. i. p. 176.

of the Universalist denomination, preferring to call himself a Restorationist, he contributed no small amount of influence in spreading the knowledge and acceptance of Universalist views. On the establishment of the "Independent Messenger," — the organ of the Restorationists from 1831 to 1841, — Mr. Parker was an active agent in circulating it in Ohio.

CHAPTER III.

1815–1820.

The Western Association, 1815. — Rev. Ebenezer Lester. — Rev. William Underwood. — Rev. Isaac Whitnal. — Rev. Stephen Cook. — Rev. David Gilson. — Successful Growth. — Meeting-house at New Hartford. — Death and Funeral of Rev. John Murray. — Mr. Murray's Habits as a Preacher. — Rev. Edward Turner's Estimate of Mr. Murray. — Mrs. Judith Murray. — Her Literary Abilities. — The General Convention, 1815. — Rev. Jacob Wood. — Denominational Growth. — The Western Association, 1816. — The Genesee Branch Association, 1816. — The Southern Association, 1816. — Efforts to obtain a History of the Denomination. — Rev. Robert Bartlett. — Rev. Jonathan Wallace. — Rev. Peter Jacobs. — Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d. — The Western Association, 1817. — The Genesee Branch Association, 1817. — The Revival in Central New York. — Rev. Job Porter. — Rev. Oliver Ackley. — Rev. Lewis C. Todd. — The Western Association, 1818. — Rev. John S. Flagler. — Rev. Andrew Vandenberg. — Rev. Amos Crandall. — Rev. Rufus Kingsley. — Ministerial Characteristics. — Rev. Thomas Gross. — The General Convention, 1818. — Rev. John Bisbe. — Rev. William Lowe. — "Consolation Church." — Rev. Joab Clark. — A Season of Opposition. — The Western Association, 1819. — Rev. Elisha Packard. — Rev. Alfred Peck. — Dedication of child of Thurlow Weed. — Movement in Henderson, N. Y. — The "Universalist Magazine." — Rev. John E. Palmer. — The Genesee Branch Association, 1819. — Rev. Pitt Morse. — The General Convention, 1819. — Rev. Royal Gage. — Rev. Robert L. Killam. — Rev. Charles Hudson. — The Western Association, 1820. — Revs. Salmon Adams, James Thompson, and Arthur Field. — Rev. Jabez Woodman. — Henry Fitz. — The General Convention, 1820. — Revs. Joseph Butterfield, Levi Briggs, Hollis Samson, Sylvanus Cobb, Asa Priest, John Brooks, Michael Dwyer, Thomas Whittemore.

IN 1815 the session of the Western Association was held at Homer, Cortland Co., N. Y. There were several accessions to the ministry. Rev. Ebenezer Lester, though at an advanced age, had come to Whites-

town, N. Y., in 1814, as a providential supply for the congregation there when all other resources had failed them. He was from the vicinity of Norwich, Conn., and it is not known how long he had been in the ministry. He never formally united with the denomination, but in 1815 asked and received ordination at the hands of a Council of his own selection, composed of members of the Western Association. A year later he ministered for twelve months to the Lombard-Street Church in Philadelphia; from which labor he returned to Connecticut, where, not long after, he ended his days in peace and in the triumphs of the faith which he had preached. It is said of him that —

"like many others of his time, his views were strongly tinctured with the prevailing orthodoxy; and in clear and comprehensive perception of the doctrinal simplicity of Universalism, he was far behind the majority of his congregation. He entertained some of the distinguishing doctrines of Mr. J. Relly, but his favorite theme was the saints reign with Christ of a thousand years. He had a passion for this subject. And he probably never preached a sermon, nor discoursed with his friends even for a few minutes without obtruding its consideration and urging its importance. This he seemed to regard as the legitimate end and aim of all faith and all good works, and he enforced it for the same reasons that others do eternal rewards. He was, of course, more in favor with opposers of the restitution than was the common lot of his ministering brethren. And while the principal members of his congregation derived little instruction or edification from his sermons, he attracted others to his meetings, and was the instrument of uniting them to the church. His services were in this way productive of manifest and substantial good. His age, his

trembling limbs, his solemn and dignified decorum, all combined to impress his hearers with veneration for the man, and to inspire respect for his sentiments." [1]

Rev. William Underwood received the fellowship of the Association at this session. He had been a preacher among the Free-Will Baptists some twelve or fourteen years, and a persistent opposer of Universalism, but being brought to test the proofs of his creed by the standard of Scripture, he felt constrained to renounce his former views and to unite with those whom he once persecuted. Mr. Smith thus describes him and his influence among us: —

"He was a grave, mild, and timid man, forever fearful of advancing a step too far, or before the time. He retained many of the peculiarities of the Baptists, especially that phraseology and manner for which they were formerly distinguished, and not a few of their prejudices. For many years he would recognize nothing but baptism by *immersion* as the proper initiatory rite of admission to the church, and he could scarcely prevail on himself to admit that any person was truly *converted* who had not, like himself, felt all the horrors of reprobation. And he was so apprehensive of unnecessarily wounding the feelings, or exciting the hostility of opposers, that while he desired with all his heart to advance the interests of Universalism, he was by many considered rather as the apologist than the decided advocate of that doctrine. This timidity materially affected the success of the ministry and the usefulness of Mr. Underwood. By many of the more hardy members of the societies, he was regarded and treated as too condescending and temporizing; while opposers often took advantage of his conces-

[1] Smith's Historical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 113, 114.

sions, to misrepresent, abuse and scandalize him. So that, though honored and esteemed generally by his ministering brethren, he was never appreciated nor popular with the denomination. His sermons always evinced a strong and sincere desire to promote the moral and religious interests of his hearers, and while he was far from being an enthusiast, he was anxious to witness the growth of a devotional spirit among his brethren. He knew the worth and felt the power of the gospel; and it was his ardent prayer, and the constant aim of his life, to make men religious rather than dogmatical. He died in the full faith of the restitution [May 26, 1840, at Litchfield, N. Y.], closing an honored life in submission and peace. And although his labors were neither the most arduous, nor abundant, they were worthy of the respect and gratitude of the denomination."[1]

Another convert from the Baptists, Rev. Isaac Whitnal, received a Letter of Fellowship at this session of the Association. Mr. Whitnal was a native of Canterbury, England. At the age of fourteen he entered the British naval service for five years, under Lord Nelson. He participated in several battles, particularly the sanguinary contest of Trafalgar. On leaving the service he united with the Baptist Church, and shortly after began to preach under their encouragement, — to such acceptance that he was ordained by them. He continued to preach to this denomination for several years after his arrival in America, till he united with the Universalists. Rev. Stephen R. Smith, who knew Mr. Whitnal well, thus speaks of him: —

"He was a singular compound of good sense and oddity, capriciousness and candor, levity and devotion;

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 116, 117.

but with all his humor and eccentricity, he was an upright man and a sincere Christian. And those whose tastes were not too greatly shocked by his first appearance, soon learned on acquaintance, to appreciate and esteem him. He was not a very uniform preacher, — that is, his sermons were not always equally good; but they were delivered with much earnestness and power, and commonly evinced much thought, with very little regard to arrangement. They were in one respect pre-eminent — they were never cold and monotonous; and were so replete with point and antithesis as to attract and fix the attention of the hearer. And when he appeared, as he sometimes did, dressed in a complete suit of *white* — to those who knew him and knew his solid worth, he seemed as dignified as some others of much greater pretensions, in *white lawn.* He was a terror to opposers; for he literally questioned them out of their positions, and out of their senses. And while he excited violent outbreaks of indignation in others, he was himself most provokingly pleasant and undisturbed. . . . Although he sometimes indulged his propensity to joke, both out of season and out of place, and thereby impaired his influence as a clergyman, yet he commonly chose his time well, and let fly his shafts with great effect. And if, in the course of a sermon, anything occurred that could furnish capital, he was morally certain to turn it to account by some pungent remark. . . . But he did not always joke. He was really much in earnest; and occasionally apostrophised with most impressive effect. For whether grave or gay, he threw his whole soul into his expression; and overwhelmed his auditors with laughter, or with the deepest feelings of awe and veneration. . . . His appearance [as he arrived at Homer, the evening before the session of the Association] was as singular as his mental peculiarities were extraordinary; and he was in all proper senses of the phrase, an 'everlasting talker.'

Too young and too little known to win his attention, I had leisure and opportunity to observe his movements and unfailing tact. He literally flew from one person to another, like a bee from flower to flower, and apparently for the sole purpose of talking and rendering himself conspicuous. Nothing however was farther from his intentions; for no man was less vain or pretending; and he talked perpetually for the simple reason that he could not keep his tongue still.

"The fatigue and discomfort of the day sent several of us early to rest — but not to sleep. For the large lodging room, where some eight or ten persons were to spend the night, was directly over that in which our friends were still engaged in conversation; and the clear, sharp voice of our new preacher seemed to penetrate the walls and flooring as if they were gauze, and came pealing in with unceasing din. Add to this the bursts of laughter which his profoundly comic style and manner provoked, and it will be perceived that sleeping was entirely out of the question. At length the conversation ceased, the door of our chamber opened, and Mr. Whitnal entered. My bed was near the door, and turning to me and holding the light above his own head and looking steadily in my face for a few seconds, he commenced:

"'Yes — this is Br. Smith; well, I have got *acquainted* with all the rest of the preachers, and now you must come to it.'

"'Excuse me to-night — it is getting late — I am fatigued, and besides, it may take some time to form an acquaintance.'

"'O no, it will take but a few minutes — it *must* be done, you know, and may as well be done now as any time.'

"There was some reason in this; and while I was meditating whether to answer, or to laugh at our position, he took advantage of the pause, and proceeded: —

"'When travelling, I make it a rule to tell those where I stop, who I am, where I am going, and my business, — this, you know, saves time and trouble. So in coming here to-day, I had occasion to call at a farm-house for a drink of water; and while the good woman was getting it for me, I told her that my name was Whitnal, that I was a Universalist preacher, and was going to a Universalist Association.'

"*Lady.* 'A Universalist — pray what will you do with the case of Esau?'

"*Whitnal.* 'Why — what of Esau, madam?'

"*L.* 'O, he sold his birthright, you know.'

"*W.* 'Yes; but what was his birthright?'

"*L.* 'Why, his *soul* to be sure.'

"*W.* 'His *soul!* Well, do you suppose that Jacob had Esau's soul? You must remember that he fairly bought it.'

"*L.* Hesitating — 'Yes, that seems probable.'

"*W.* 'And what, do you think, became of Jacob?'

"*L.* 'O, he went to heaven, no doubt.'

"*W.* 'Well — do you think he took Esau's soul along with him?'

"*L.* Hesitating again — 'Yes, that seems probable.'

"*W.* 'Now what do you think became of Esau?'

"*L.* 'Of Esau? Why no doubt he went to hell.'

"*W.* 'But that is rather odd, ma'am, that Jacob should go to heaven with *two souls*, and poor Esau to hell without any.'

"He gained his object — we were emphatically *acquainted* from that time forward while he lived.

"Peace to his ashes, and honor to his memory. He was truly 'one of nature's noblemen,' generous, self-sacrificing, and sincere. In the midst of opposition and reproach he witnessed a good profession, and with all his eccentricities, he won friends and honored the truth. He died [at Royalston Centre, N. Y., Jan. 26, 1834] as he

had lived — believing and cheerful, resigned and happy in the hope of Universal grace and salvation." [1]

Rev. Stephen Cook also received fellowship at this session. He was ordained at Whitehall, Oct. 7, 1824, and died at Day, Saratoga County, N. Y., Nov. 19, 1846, aged seventy-two years. He was a man of good character and abilities, and spent a large portion of his life in the ministry, but seldom attended the meetings of the Association, and was not known to many of his brother ministers.

Rev. David Gilson and Rev. U. H. Jacobs received Letters of Fellowship. Both ran well for a season, and the former gained some reputation as a preacher in Philadelphia, but neither of them was long profitable in the ministry.

Rev. Paul Dean, of Boston, was in attendance at this session. He came for the purpose of soliciting aid in the establishment of a seminary in which young men could be fitted for the ministry (to be more fully spoken of in a succeeding chapter), but meeting with serious opposition where he had expected great aid in the advocacy of the measure, did not refer to it during the session.

No more satisfactory session of the Western Association had ever been held. There were greater evidences of the advance of the truth than had been manifested at any previous time. More preachers were present, more had been fellowshipped, there was a larger attendance at the meetings, and the reports from the surrounding region were more encouraging. No

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 117–125.

new society was reported, but permanent congregations had been gathered in places before unvisited or inaccessible. "A young preacher," says Mr. Smith, "was congratulating Mr. Stacy on the presence of so many ministers, and of a numerous and respectable congregation, and especially on the better prospects which seemed now first opening to the denomination. Overwhelmed by his emotions, Mr. Stacy burst into tears, and as soon as he could command his feelings, he stated that within a very few years he had, in *passing through that village*, been thronged by a gang of boys, who threw small missiles, swung their hats, and hurrahed the Universalist preacher along the street!"

In the summer of 1815 the first Universalist meeting-house exclusively owned by Universalists in the State of New York was erected in New Hartford, Oneida Co. The Society building it was scattered over several towns, at a distance, to those living in the extreme limits of either, of from fifteen to twenty miles apart. Had the Will of Hon. Hugh White, mentioned under date of 1805, been sustained, the site for the house of worship would have been in what is now the flourishing village of Whitesboro'; but as this was not to be, the location chosen was thought to be most convenient for the members at large. Unfortunately, the spot selected was a little outside the village of New Hartford, and the place instead of growing towards it, grew away from it, so that in after years, when four or five Universalist churches were built in the territory originally covered by this Society, the old place of worship was not convenient of access to any, and for a long series of years was abandoned. Within a few years it has

been destroyed by fire. The building was of wood, fifty by thirty feet in size, seating about two hundred persons, besides a small gallery for singers. It was finished in the plainest possible manner. Of its occupancy, Mr. Smith says: —

"It is not possible to convey an adequate idea of the complacent satisfaction felt and betrayed by the members of the congregation, when at last they sat down to worship God in a sanctuary of their own. They congratulated each other — eyes brightened, and countenances beamed with radiant pleasure; and strong men that had borne the reproach of heresy unmoved, now wept with feelings of joy. It was like opening a new fountain in the desert — and purer thanksgiving never ascended from human hearts before high Heaven, than was offered on that day by that congregation. It was a time and an occasion to be remembered, for reasons which no subsequent occasion of the kind can ever furnish to another society of the order in the State. It was a point on which converged a host of great interests to a class of Christians, the developement of whose power and influence and numbers, were now subjects of earnest conjecture. For while it gave assurance of what might be effected with comparative ease in other instances, it was the earnest of the multitude of temples consecrated to like purposes, which were to rise throughout the broad land. The precedent furnished by the erection of this church, other societies soon found it their interest to follow, and they did follow it with still better results." [1]

On the third of September, 1815, Rev. John Murray, after several years of wearying sickness, passed from this life. His funeral took place the following day, and

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 133, 134.

Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, preached the sermon. Prayers were offered by Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Salem, and Rev. Edward Turner, of Charlestown. Mr. Jones's discourse was from Ecclesiastes, xii: 7. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." He prefaced it with the following:—

"My friends, I am called this day to perform a solemn duty, solemn to you and solemn to me. There lies the body of the man you loved and revered while living; whose doctrine hath often made your souls feel the 'Powers of the world to come.' In a dark day he was made able to sound the trumpet of Universal grace. Opposition to the cause of free grace, in which he had engaged, was made to do it service, and all things wrought together for his success in making the theme famous.

"Having for a season travelled in the United States and preached at many places, he came at length into New England and visited Cape Ann, where was his first establishment. From thence he removed here, where he has closed his days.

"Since his infirmity, which closed his public services for about six years, he often appeared impatient for a passage into the world to come. Shall we, who shed tears of sympathy and friendship, grieve at his release? Nay, let us rather be thankful to our Heavenly Father that he hath delivered him from the burden of the flesh.

"I would address his surviving Consort and Daughter, and say, Weep not that your Father is translated to heaven, freed from every care, trouble, sorrow, and all infirmities, but rejoice that you are assured that you shall, without failure, join him in the immortal inheritance.

"I would address you, his once beloved Church and

Congregation, under the Chief Shepherd, and say to you, Cherish ye the seed sown among you by him who is no more among the living upon earth. Let the Morning which shone forth fair in him proceed to its high Meridian without a cloud, while ye cry out with Elisha, 'The Chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof.' And while ye pray that a double portion of the Spirit of Truth that rested upon him may rest upon you and upon your surviving Pastor in the Lord. May his hands be strengthened, his knees confirmed, his light be abundant, and his usefulness be enlarged, to the gathering in of many to the knowledge of the truth. May God enlarge you as Japeth, and make your members like Ephraim.

"Bless ye God, most cordially, for the first light which shone upon many of you by the ministry of your now deceased pastor. Would you honor his memory? then stand ye fast in the liberty of Christ, and be not entangled with any yoke of bondage. Learn ye by the doctrine of grace which the personage you now mourn had the pleasure and honor of opening to you, to glorify God by a Christian profession, and a conversation becoming the Gospel of Christ.

"For all the gifts which God hath given you, bless ye God, and say ye, 'God gave the word, and at length great was the number of its publishers.' We expect not man to be immortal upon earth. He hath only taken away what he gave; acknowledge ye his gift. 'The Lord gave,' and acquiesce ye in his doings, by saying also, 'The Lord hath taken away, Blessed be the Name of the Lord.' Let your minds this day, from the valley of the shadow of death, look forward to the immortal state which we expect as the free Gift of God revealed in His Son. Jesus hath triumphed over death. His glorified person is our pledge of Immortality. Then, as death comes near us, and snatches away our friends and companions, let us fear him the less. Death is only an enemy

to our feelings in flesh and blood. Death itself is ours, for we are more than conquerors over death, through him that loved us.

"These things I have said, in a cursory way, for your edification under the present dispensation of Providence, and shall not enlarge by entering more particularly into the history of our beloved mutual friend and brother. A succinct account of his life since his removal to this Country, being in manuscript, written by himself, will give such information to those who may desire it.

"I shall therefore read an appropriate text on the occasion, and deliver a discourse therefrom."

Mr. Murray's body was laid in a tomb in the Granary Burial Ground, Tremont Street, Boston, belonging to the Sargent family. It remained there until 1837, when, the means having been secured by voluntary contributions from Universalists for the purchase of a lot and the erection of a monument at Mt. Auburn, the body was removed to that place, on the afternoon of the 8th of June, the re-burial being preceded by a funeral service at the First Universalist Church on Hanover Street, — Rev. Joshua Flagg, who had been a fellow-laborer with the departed, offering prayer, and Rev. Sebastian Streeter, then pastor of the church, preaching an eloquent and impressive sermon from the words: "And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for a hundred pieces of silver; and it became the inheritance of the children of Joseph" (Joshua xxiv. 32). At the grave an address was given by Rev. Hosea Ballou.

In vol. i. pp. 105–163, and elsewhere, we have had

much to say of Mr. Murray's peculiar theology, and also of the more striking incidents of his life. We only add here that in his pulpit he was an extemporizer. Writing to Rev. Robert Redding concerning a request from his hearers that he would publish a discourse which he had preached, he said: —

"This, as I never take notes, I assured them was impossible, but on their repeated solicitations, I promised them I would recover as much of the discourse as possible by recollection, and give it from the press. I have never habituated myself to write my thoughts on the subjects that present themselves. I go to meeting more as a *hearer* than a *speaker*. I am resolved to hear what God the Lord will say unto me, and I am persuaded I have not a hearer in my congregation that receives more information, or consolation, from attending there, than I do. When I first received a call to speak well of the Redeemer's name, I was taught to take no thought of what I should say. I believed God, and have found him faithful that hath promised. I might be more coldly correct had I been in the habit of studying and writing my discourses, but I should not in that case have known so much the pleasure of a life of faith, which I can testify is the sweetest life in the world."

The late Rev. Edward Turner, who had often listened to Mr. Murray, said, after remarking on his being "really and professedly a disciple of Mr. Relly:" —

"In the manner of his preaching, Mr. Murray was always greatly interesting and could command the most profound attention in the largest audiences. It has been often said that Mr. Whitfield was his model, and it is not unlikely that, from his intercourse with that gentleman in early life, having been a member of his communion,

and from the regard and reverence he bore him, he might, without intention, have copied his manner in proportion as he imbibed his spirit. He was powerful, yet cool and dispassionate in argument. He possessed a vast acquaintance with the Scriptures, and few men could apply with so much ease and readiness their figurative expressions to illustrate the great doctrine of the gospel. To a fervid imagination and a vigorous intellect he had in addition a strong and retentive memory, which had ever been much exercised. He had read many theological works, the principal features of which he always distinctly recollected; and he could frequently, when quoting an author in public, give his ideas in his own words. It has sometimes been urged against Mr. Murray that he indulged too much in a spirit of sarcasm and satiric wit. That he possessed these powers is well known, and that at certain times he employed them is not denied. We believe, however, that in the later period of his life he sincerely regretted the use of those powers in his public character. To the writer of this article he once said, 'If you possess wit, if you have a talent for satire, never cultivate, never indulge in them; they will not produce you any sincere friends; they will make you many enemies; it is no way to catch birds by casting stones at them.'" [1]

With the exception of conducting his extensive correspondence, Mr. Murray did very little writing. He was greatly dependent on his wife for the literary finish of his publications. She, with great industry and devotion, gathered together and published, before his death, three volumes of his "Letters and Sketches of Sermons." Of this work, when first begun, Mr.

[1] Manuscript History of Universalism, in the possession of the Universalist Historical Society.

Murray said, in a letter to Rev. Noah Parker: "She has very carefully sifted my discourses, and, preserving the flower, has made them up in her own way — I mean with respect to *manner*, and I need not, nor can I say, how much better they will appear in consequence."[1] In May following his death, Mrs. Murray published a Memoir of her husband.[2] The Autobiographical portion of the volume was originally designed, says Mrs. Murray, in the Preface, "only for the eye of a tender and beloved friend," — meaning, no doubt, herself.

Mrs. Judith Murray was the daughter of Winthrop Sargent, of Gloucester, Mass., in whose residence, it will be remembered, Mr. Murray held his first meetings in that town in 1774, and for some months after. She is remembered in Gloucester by a venerable woman, now living at the age of ninety-seven, as having uncommon beauty of person, and a superior mind, which was cultivated and enriched by the best education the times afforded to young women. She was born May 5, 1751, and when in her nineteenth year was married to John Stevens, also a native of Gloucester, who was a merchant and trader. He died in 1786. Two years later

[1] Letters and Sketches of Sermons, vol. ii. p. 95.

[2] Records of the Life of the Rev. John Murray: late Minister of the Reconciliation, and Senior Pastor of the Universalists congregated in Boston. Written by himself. The Records contain anecdotes of the writer's infancy, and are extended to some years after the commencement of his public labors in America. To which is added a brief Continuation to the closing scene. By a Friend.

To Christian Friends this volume makes appeal;
Friends are indulgent — CHRISTIAN FRIENDS CAN FEEL.

Boston. Published by Munroe & Francis, No. 4 Cornhill, 1816. 8vo. pp. 250.

she married Mr. Murray. Soon after her marriage she became a writer for the "Massachusetts Magazine," contributing prose articles over the signature of "Constantia," and furnished poetry for the "Boston Weekly Magazine," over the signature of "Honora Martesia." These writings gave her a popularity of which her husband was justly proud. She was as proud of his position and influence; and being a firm believer in the Rellyan theology, was impatient of any advocacy of Universalism that was not based on that theory. Hence the incident recorded in vol. i. pp. 508, 509.

In 1795 Mrs. Murray concluded to make an addition to the number of prose articles she had written for the Magazine, and publish them in book form. The work appeared in 1798, and bore the title: "The Gleaner. A Miscellaneous Production. In three volumes. By Constantia." The work was published by subscription; the names of the subscribers, somewhat exceeding eight hundred, appear in the last volume, and include some of the most notable people of the time. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Murray were a son, who died in infancy, a daughter, Julia Maria, born in Gloucester, Aug. 22, 1791, married in 1812 to Adam Lewis Bingaman, of Natchez, Miss., and died in 1822, leaving one son, who subsequently married in New York. None of their descendants are now on the earth. After the death of Mr. Murray his widow went to reside with her daughter, and died at Natchez, June 6, 1820. By her will she left a handsome sum of money in trust to Benjamin K. Hough, Esq., of Gloucester, to be distributed according to his judgment, "for the benefit of the needy widows, and others who are poor, of my native

place, who do not receive their chief support from the town." There were one hundred and fifty-seven recipients of this gift, of whom ninety were widows.

Mrs. Murray's books, as their titles indicate, were a "miscellaneous collection," the papers being on a great variety of themes; but the story of Margaretta, which runs through the volumes, seeks to give continuity to the various essays. The author had a great passion for the drama, and has furnished two long plays in her last volume, one exceedingly sentimental, entitled "Virtue Triumphant," and the other a patriotic production, "The Traveller Returned." The former was brought out in the Boston Theatre, March 2, 1795, under the title of "The Medium." It was severely criticised, and the authorship was attributed to Mr. Murray, but publicly denied by him in "The Centinel," March 4. In "The Gleaner," Mrs. Murray complained that "the players were generally deficient in their parts, and more than one of the comedians confessed that they came on the stage with scarce a recollection of the sentiment which they were to express." "The Traveller Returned" was performed in the Boston Theatre, March 9, 1796. It was severely criticised by Robert Treat Paine in "The Orrery," and the authorship was attributed to Mr. Murray. A correspondent of "The Centinel" replied to the criticism with much tartness, and Paine rejoined with equal severity, insinuating that Mr. Murray was the correspondent of "The Centinel." The controversy occasioned articles in other papers, and finally called forth a letter from Mr. Murray, in which he denied the authorship of the play, and also the insinuation that he had been a play-actor in England.

Near the close of the season the play was again performed, "for the benefit of the poor widows and orphans of the town of Boston." The bill on this occasion was prefaced with a card from the author, respectfully soliciting the patronage of the public, and "relinquishing her claim of pecuniary emolument" in favor of those objects of charity.

Some years prior to the publication of "The Gleaner," Mrs. Murray had published "in a periodical of a miscellaneous nature" an essay on "The Equality of the Sexes." This she supplemented by four papers in "The Gleaner," in which she sets forth the justice and propriety of considering women, so far as relates to their understanding, in *every respect* equal to men. "Our evidences," she says — and she had cited many instances — "tend to prove them alike capable of enduring hardships; equally ingenious and fruitful in resources; their fortitude and heroism cannot be surpassed; they are equally brave; they are as patriotic, as influential, and as eloquent; as faithful and as persevering in their attachments; as capable of supporting with honor the toils of government, and equally susceptible of every literary acquirement." Some of the discussions of later days on these several points are anticipated by her, and she champions her cause in a forcible manner. Her style in most of her writings is somewhat stilted and grandiloquent, quite of the Sir Charles Grandison type, though perhaps not more so than was peculiar to many contemporary writers.

Copies of "The Gleaner" having been sent to England, it was so well received that its republication in that country was solicited and consented to by Mrs.

Murray; but the death of the gentleman to whom the work was intrusted caused the project to fail.

The General Convention held its session in 1815 at Whitingham, Vt. A correspondence with Rev. Mr. Rait, a Universalist clergyman in London, was read, and steps were taken to facilitate the raising of funds for the proposed literary institution. In general the prosperous condition of the churches was reported, but no special details were given. Fellowship was granted to Rev. Jacob Wood, who was ordained at the next session. He is described as "a man of good talents, fine address in the pulpit, and a sweet singer." He was conspicuous in the discussion which took place soon after his entering the ministry, on the subject of Future Retribution, of which more will be said farther on. His settlements were at Charlton, Shirley, South Shrewsbury, Mass., and Saco, Me. He died of paralysis, at Troy, N. Y., Feb. 13, 1853, aged sixty years. During a portion of his life his interest in religious matters declined, but for several years before his decease his interest revived, although from the nature of his infirmity he was not often able to attend public religious services. He was also greatly interested in his later days in the subject of temperance, having passed through a personal experience which enabled him to prize its blessings.

The growth of the denomination, which characterized the year 1815, extended into and was even augmented in 1816. Four new societies were reported to the session of the Western Association held in the Episcopal Church in Cooperstown, Otsego County, N. Y., and Rev. Abner Kneeland, then strong in faith and

active in his labors, had settled with the society at Whitestown, as its pastor. The Genesee Branch Association, embracing in its bounds all the territory lying west of Cayuga Lake, met in Le Roy, and was greatly encouraged by the work which had been accomplished and the open door set before it. It fellowshipped one new preacher, whose name has not been preserved, but of whom it said that "he was a good man."[1] Great activity was also manifest as far south as Philadelphia, and a revived interest was felt in all our organizations. The first Universalist society in Ohio was this year organized at Marietta. And an association for the accommodation of the Universalists of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut was organized by the name of "The Southern Association."

The General Convention met in 1816 at Rockingham, Vt. The Records show that: —

"On representation that a History of the rise, progress, and present state of Universalism in this country might be of general utility,

"*Voted*, That a Committee of three be chosen for the purpose of collecting such information as can be obtained from good authority, of the earliest writers on Universal Salvation, as well as of succeeding defenders of that doctrine, and their several views of that subject; with such facts as may be had from indisputable sources as shall enable them to compile a correct history of the rise, progress and present state of this doctrine, and of the Societies established in the American States; and report their proceedings at the next session of this body.

"Chose Brethren E. Turner, H. Ballou, and T. Jones a committee for said purposes."

[1] Rev. S. R. Smith's Historical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 169, 170.

At the session in 1817: —

"Called on the committee appointed last year on the subject of a history of the rise and progress of Universalism, who reported no success.

"Appointed Brothers H. Ballou, E. Turner, and Paul Dean a Committee to attend to the above subject and report at the next session of the Convention."

A similar report was made in 1818, when the Convention —

"appointed Brs. E. Turner, J. Wood, and H. Ballou, a committee to collect materials and compile a History of the rise and progress of Universalism."

In 1819 the records show that —

"the committee on the subject of a History of Universalism reported progress, and asked leave for further opportunity to finish the work."

The request was granted, but no farther report was made. Mr. Turner commenced the preparation of such a history, but did not proceed far, having written a short chapter or "Section" on "The Establishment of the General Convention, its Objects, Progress, and Utility," and a portion of a "Section" entitled, "Brief Account of some of the Preachers of the Doctrine of Universal Salvation." The entire manuscript covers less than twenty pages of foolscap. The organization of the Convention he places at 1793; and with the exception of a few words with regard to Rev. Adams Streeter, we have given under date of 1815 about all that is contained in the fragment of the second "Section."

In 1826 there appeared, published in Albany, N. Y., "A History of the Origin and Progress of the Doctrine of Universal Salvation. Also, the Final Reconciliation of All Men to Holiness and Happiness, fully and clearly proved from Scripture, Reason, and Common Sense. And the Principal Texts of Scripture, commonly understood to mean Never-Ending Punishment for Sin, examined, and the True Scriptural Sense of them Clearly Explained. The dreadful doctrine of Endless Misery investigated, and the long controversy, whether or not All Men will finally be saved, decided. By Thomas Brown, M. E. Author of the 'History of the Shakers,' 'Ethereal Physician,' and 'History of the Jews.'" The author was of Quaker parentage, and was born in the City of New York on the 16th of May, 1766. In 1787 he was admitted as a member of the Society of Friends. In 1799 he became a Shaker, at the Shaker settlement at Watervliet, then "commonly called Neskauna," near Albany, N. Y. He remained a Shaker in faith, although he did not reside at their settlement, till the winter of 1805, when, unwilling to follow in all things the demands of the elders, he left them, and in 1812 published, at Troy, N. Y., "An Account of the People called Shakers," etc. His home at that time was in Cornwall, Orange County, N. Y. Subsequently he published "The Ethereal Physician, or Medical Electricity Revived," and called himself a Medical Electrician, which is the significance of the initials appended to his name on the titlepage to his work on the History of Universalism. At what time he became a Universalist, as also what was his career after publishing his History, we are not informed. His book has no little merit.

It is chiefly devoted to a statement of the history of the doctrine, and has but few pages relating to the growth of the denomination in the United States.

In 1829 Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, published "The Ancient History of Universalism: from the Time of the Apostles, to its Condemnation in the Fifth General Council, A.D. 553. With an Appendix, tracing the Doctrine down to the Era of the Reformation." It was and continues to be a work of great value, learned, and of acknowledged candor and fairness. An edition, "With Notes by Rev. A. St. John Chambré, A.M., and T. J. Sawyer, D.D.," was published in 1872.

In 1830 appeared "The Modern History of Universalism, from the Era of the Reformation to the Present Time. By Thomas Whittemore." The author's incitement to this work was received from the author of the Ancient History, as is described at the close of this chapter. Thirty years later Mr. Whittemore published the first volume of a revision of this work, including in it all that he had said in the first edition, with large additions on Universalism in Europe. A second volume was intended which should cover the American portion of the History, but death interrupted his labors, and his notes and memoranda were not in such shape as to render them available to another.

To the above should be added the two volumes from which we have quoted so freely, the first and second series of "Historical Sketches and Incidents, Illustrative of the Establishment and Progress of Universalism in the State of New York. By S. R. Smith." The first series was published in 1843 and the second in 1848.

At the session of 1816 ordination was conferred on Rev. Messrs. Jacob Wood, Robert Bartlett, and Jonathan Wallace. Of Mr. Wood we have already spoken.

Rev. Robert Bartlett was a native of New Hampshire, born in 1793. His educational advantages were limited, but "he was an ardent student of the Scriptures, out of which he gathered a theological equipment of no mean order. In his early and middle life he was a vigorous preacher, and his name was once familiar as a household word in the Universalist homes of New Hampshire and Vermont, where he labored as an evangelist for many years." For a long time he suffered greatly from the infirmities of age. He died in Boston, Mass., Jan. 20, 1882.

Rev. Jonathan Wallace, M.D., was born in Peterboro', N. H., March 20, 1784. He was of studious habits, and had the best advantages of the common-school education of that day. Although trained in the medical profession he did not long practise the healing art, on account of want of faith in the utility of bleeding, blistering, and the administration of calomel and other drugs, as was the practice of medicine then in vogue. Having given the subject of religious doctrines much study and careful thinking, he became an enthusiastic believer in "the common salvation," which he always held and preached in accordance with the theory held by Relly, Murray, and Edward Mitchell. He commenced preaching in 1815, and for several years labored in Chittenden County, Vt., preaching in Richmond, Williston, Jericho, and neighboring towns. In the winter of 1822–23 he moved to Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., where for several years he was, as a

preacher, almost alone in that northern region, — his circuit extending from Ogdensburgh, on the west, as far as Chateaugay on the east, and preaching more or less in the towns of Potsdam, Canton, Madrid, Pierpoint, Hopkinton, Malone, Bangor, and other places in that region. He was pastor at Potsdam over twenty years. Among those who prepared for the ministry under his instruction were Benjamin F. Hickox, Franklin Langworthy, F. J. Briggs, and Eli Ballou. Mr. Wallace died at Potsdam, April 7, 1873.

Rev. Peter Jacobs, who had been a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church several years, became a Universalist in 1816, and withdrew from the Methodist communion. His ministry with us was in Western New Hampshire, mainly in the County of Cheshire. He finally made his home in Marlow, where he died in April, 1824, aged about sixty years. "He was not an ambitious man. His aim was to do the work of an evangelist, and advance the cause of truth and religion."[1]

The most valuable accession to the ministry this year was Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, a grandson of Benjamin, the oldest brother of Hosea Ballou, Senior, for whom he was named. Hosea, 2d, was born in Guilford, Vt., Oct. 18, 1796. The old-fashioned common school of his native town furnished the basis of his early education, and subsequently he took up a more systematic line of study under the direction of Rev. Thomas H. Wood, of Halifax, Vt., who taught him the rudiments of the Latin language. His parents were originally Baptists, but his father became a Universalist before

[1] Rev. Lemuel Willis, in The Universalist, June 27, 1874.

the birth of this son. By 1815 young Hosea had become confirmed in his faith in the doctrines of Universalism. His first sermon, so says his record of the event, was preached "April, 1816, at Uncle D. Ballou's, S. H. W. pt. Rowe." Mention is made of this uncle in vol. i. p. 293. In April, 1817, Hosea, 2d, entered upon his first pastorate, at Stafford, Ct., where he remained until the summer of 1821, when he settled at Roxbury, Mass. Seventeen years later he became pastor of the Universalist Society in Medford, Mass., being installed in June, 1838. Meanwhile he had published the "Ancient History of Universalism." The late Thomas Whittemore, D.D., thus relates the manner in which the work was undertaken and accomplished: —

"It was some time in 1823 or 1824, that Mr. Ballou first proposed to Mr. Whittemore the plan of getting up a history of Universalism. He called Mr. W.'s attention to the fact that there was no history of our precious doctrine anywhere to be found, and never had been. He said it would be a great task to seek out the fragments of knowledge, scattered abroad everywhere, and bring them together. 'But,' said he, 'we can do it. We are both young and in good health. We live in the vicinity of Harvard College Library, you only a mile from it. Let us begin and feel our way along, and pursue the labor when we have nothing else to do, for we must, in the nature of things, have some leisure. I will take the ancient part, said he, and bring up the history to the epoch of the Reformation; and you take it up at that time and bring it forward. You will have to learn some of the European languages; and I advise you to begin with the French.' This fired up Mr. Whittemore's soul; and the two went to work.

"'The Ancient History of Universalism' was pub-

lished in 1829, having been about five years in the preparation. Mr. Ballou was peculiarly fitted for the work. He entered into it with great zeal. The ease with which he read works in Latin was of immense advantage to him. The denomination of Universalists are under great obligations to him for this work. He never received a sufficient pecuniary compensation for his labor, and never will. How little those know of the advantages of possessing this book, who never were obliged to live without it. Mr. Ballou exhausted the subject so far as the first six centuries of the Christian era were concerned." [1]

In May, 1822, Mr. Ballou united with his great-uncle Hosea and Rev. Thomas Whittemore in the editorial care of "The Universalist Magazine," from which he retired at the close of the seventh volume, in 1826. In 1830 he was associated with his great-uncle in editing "The Universalist Expositor," which in a few years became "The Universalist Quarterly;" and of this he had sole charge till the close of the twelfth volume, in 1855, and for two years afterwards associated Rev. G. H. Emerson with him in the same work. At the Commencement at Harvard University in 1845 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him, and he held the position of trustee of that corporation for the full term allowed by its laws. In August, 1855, he was inaugurated President of Tufts College, a position which he filled with great ability and fidelity until his death, which occurred, after a brief illness, on the 27th of May, 1861. It is no disparagement of the learning and merits of others to say that Dr. Ballou

[1] Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, June 18, 1859.

was, in attainments and in the breadth and variety of his abilities, the greatest man that has been engaged in the Universalist ministry. For several years before becoming President of the College, he received at his home young men, who pursued, under his direction, studies which fitted them for the ministry. We are not certain that the following list of his students in theology is complete, but it is as near so as we have been able to make it: Levi Ballou, Russell A. Ballou, George Bradburn, Isaac Brown, J. A. Coolidge, Edwin A. Eaton, Sumner Ellis, Addison G. Fay, Eben Francis, Thomas Starr King, John S. Lee, J. J. Locke, Amory D. Mayo, J. D. Pierce, M. H. Smith, Charles Spear, John M. Spear, J. W. Talbot.

In 1817 the Western Association held its session in the town of Marcellus, Onondaga County.

"Four or five new Societies," says Mr. Smith, "were received into fellowship. A large proportion of the ministers in the State were present; and the reports of delegates, and societies not represented, gave encouraging assurance that the cause of truth was progressing. . . . The *second* church owned by the denomination in the State was now in progress of erection in the city of Hudson — where a strong and energetic society had been recently formed. The almost instantaneous development of liberal principles, has seldom been exhibited in a more surprising manner than in the establishment of this society. Only a year previous but one or two individuals in the city were known to be Universalists. By their interest and influence a lecture was held by a visiting clergyman [Rev. Edward Mitchell] in a *private house;* which was attended by some *twenty* persons. A second lecture was held on a subsequent evening, in the same place, the notice of which was only circulated among acquaintances.

The congregation was now too large for the place, and a meeting in the Court House was notified. A large and respectable audience assembled, and after a few subsequent meetings measures were taken for the support of preaching — a minister employed, a society formed, and in little more than a year permanently established in a good church of their own. New societies and congregations were thus springing up in every direction, and though often separated from each other by many miles, it was natural to infer that other places in the intervening distances would in due time receive the message of eternal truth. . . . There were now between twenty and thirty organized societies in the State, and about half as many preachers." [1]

The session of the Genesee Branch Association was held in the then village of Buffalo, "and was very well attended; although no more than *four* or *five* societies were represented, — that number being the sum total of our organized force within a hundred miles. But several of our best preachers were present and preached; and the friends were both gratified and encouraged."

The General Convention met at Charlton, Mass. No special business was transacted; but an attempt was made by one or two uneasy spirits to disrupt the organization, of which more will be said in another place.

The winter of 1817–18 was characterized by an extraordinary awakening and revival among the Universalists of Central New York. Mr. Stacy thus relates its beginning and progress: —

"From our earliest organization in Hamilton, we had been in the habit of holding social evening conferences

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 196–198.

in the fall and winter, when the evenings were of sufficient length, for singing, prayer, exhortation, and for religious discussion. At times we adopted the practice of giving out, at the close of the meeting, a passage of Scripture for examination at the next meeting; and, at other times, let each or any individual introduce such passages as struck his mind at the time. These meetings proved vastly profitable, by enlightening the minds of inquirers, confirming the wavering, strengthening believers, and enlivening and exhilarating all. They were generally well attended by Universalists, and not unfrequently engaged the attention of non-professors, and sometimes even of opposers. They were generally held at the center of the town, or in the neighborhood of my own residence, one mile from the center. In the fall of 1817, as usual, our conferences were commenced. No unusual excitement was at first manifested, and no uncommon exertions made to induce people to attend. But in the course of a few weeks an unusual interest seemed to prevail, large numbers flocked in, and a greater freedom of speech was abundantly manifest. Requests were frequently made for meetings of the kind to be held in other parts of the town. Soon the report became circulated, to the astonishment of the other sects, that there was a revival of religion among the Universalists! Such a thing had been confidently denied by the professedly religious world, as ever having taken place, and as confidently pronounced impossible, under the preaching of that doctrine. Curiosity, therefore, if nothing else, prompted people of other sects to come in and see what was being done; and the Methodists soon caught the true spirit of the meeting, and joined heart and hand in the exercises.

"They lost all the obnoxious points in their sectarian creed; no terrors, no thunderings of Almighty wrath, no flashings of hell-flames, no groans of hopeless despair

from the dark regions of the damned, were heard, either in their exhortations, or in their prayers or songs; but all was love, the boundless love of God to sinners, the universal atonement of Christ, the unchangeable will of God for the salvation of the whole world, the amplitude of Divine grace, &c. 'The middle walls of partition' were completely broken down between us; and so pleased, edified, and animated, and so perfectly at home in our meetings were they, that they even attended our services on the Sabbath, expressed their approbation of the doctrine they heard, and many of them united in communion. Some of the Baptists came in, but were a little more cautious; and the Presbyterians, after a few casual calls, came *en masse*, with their clergyman at their head.

"I had lived long enough in Hamilton to witness the third Presbyterian clergyman settle there as pastor of the church. Mr. Moulton, their present pastor, was an emigrant from Massachusetts; and when he settled in Hamilton, promised them that he would soon explode Universalism, and annihilate the church and society in that place; and his ostentatious braggadocio produced a correspondence between him and myself, which resulted in a more friendly course than either of his predecessors had pursued. But now he came into the conference meeting, took a dictatorial course, seating himself on the table, and without any invitation from those who had previously and constantly attended the meetings, assumed the lead of the services; and was not so careful in withholding doctrines conflicting with Universalism as the Methodists had been. His conduct grieved many, and highly offended our Methodist friends; and on Sunday morning several of them came to me and requested that I would appoint a conference on some other evening of the week, especially for Universalists and Methodists; hoping thereby that Mr. M. would take the hint, and

not interfere with our services. I told them I could not do it. But if they wished, I would appoint a conference on another evening of the week, though I could not be exclusive; it must be open for all who wished to attend; I therefore made the appointment, saying at the same time it was for Methodists, Universalists and everybody else who wished to attend, professor or non-professor, of all denominations, or no denomination.

"It had the desired effect; for neither Mr. M., nor any of his church attended that meeting nor any subsequent meeting of the new conference. Mr. M. kept up the old conference for a short time, but the Methodists immediately abandoned it, and the Universalists and those of no sect dropped off one after another, until it entirely dwindled away. Mr. M. became vexed and called it all the work of the devil, and declared he would never attend another conference, and raved like a madman. The other conference increased in interest and numbers; conferences were also held weekly in other parts of the town; and I had frequent requests to deliver lectures in different neighborhoods, all of which were attended to overflowing. The Methodists would come in crowds, and their preachers, at every possible opportunity, would cheerfully lend a hand, maintaining the strictest caution, in all their services, not to advance a single sentiment conflicting with the doctrine of God's Universal Grace. Indeed, they neither felt nor thought of opposition. Their whole theme was love; and they dwelt upon it with all the fervor that the superabounding love of God in the soul inspires. We felt, we talked, and worshipped, for almost two years, as one people. During this union season, the Presiding Elder of the district, Mr. Barnes, called on me, saying he wanted to hold a quarterly meeting in Hamilton, and asked if I thought the Presbyterian meeting-house could be obtained for the occasion. I told him I thought it doubt-

ful; but, said I, 'Although it will do no good for me to intercede for you, or show any favor to you on the occasion, you may still offer them the schoolhouse where we held our meetings for the Sabbath, which will amply accommodate their congregation; for we shall hold no separate meeting, but worship with you.' He applied for the meeting-house, but, as I anticipated, was refused. 'Don't give up the ship,' said a bigoted old member, and they all heartily responded to the sentiment.

"But a barn, in the neighborhood, was nearly empty, which was obtained for the Sunday meeting, although it was the first part of the month of March. They hold their watch-meeting and previous exercises in the schoolhouse; and the day being warm and pleasant for the season a vast concourse assembled in the barn on Sunday to attend preaching. The whole church and society of Universalists met with them, and not one word fell from the lips of a single individual, grating to the feelings of the most fastidious of our sect. I was requested to give an exhortation after the Elder's sermon, which I did, and a pretty lengthy one, with heart and soul.

"In such harmony we lived — and thus we should have lived, for aught I could see, time without measure, had not a good old pious (?) Methodist preacher (Elder Dewey), from a distance, come along, and 'rebuked them sharply' for their temerity, and told them they were beside themselves — they would all soon be Universalists — and shut up the bars, charging them not again to pull them down on their peril. But the poor man was a little too late; for by leaving them down as he had, a large number of his sheep had escaped from the fold, whom he could neither call nor drive back; they had found a safer fold, and richer feed which they would not leave for the scanty and unsavory fare they had heretofore tried to live upon.

"But the climax of the story is not yet completed.

After Mr. Moulton's conference had dwindled away, and he had entirely abandoned it, I could hear of his making very uncharitable remarks about myself and the Methodists, our meetings, &c.; but I saw nothing of him until one Saturday previous to communion in the Universalist church. It was our practice, uniformly, to hold a preparatory meeting on Saturday before communion, which was opened by a short discourse, and then a social conference ensued, in which every member took a part, and generally, without exception, had something to say. It was early in the month of February, a cold, stormy day, and few, if any, besides members of the church were present, and not all of them were present. I commenced service in the usual form; and at the close of the first prayer I noticed a man standing with his head leaning against the mantle, who looked like Mr. M. I felt quite surprised, having so frequently heard of his invidious expressions in reference to us and our meetings, and kept my eye on him until he turned around — and seeing that it was the identical man, I spoke to him, and invited him to take a seat by my side. This, however, he modestly declined, and seated himself near where he stood. While proceeding with my discourse, I noticed that Mr. M.'s countenance was very expressive of emotion, and tears often gathered in his eyes. The discourse closed, and I observed, 'There is now opportunity for remarks, or exhortation; and I hope that freedom of utterance may be given and improved. Mr. M., this is a free meeting; if you have aught on your mind, anything to say to us, I hope, sir, that you will use your liberty.' He very civilly thanked me, and said he surely would. Some one called for the reading of the church platform and covenant. It was complied with, and Mr. M. gave very serious attention to it. On the first establishment of the church, the Profession of Faith adopted by the General Convention in New England was adopted by the church;

but subsequently that had been expunged, and the short apostolic creed, 'We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God,' substituted; and this, and nothing else, — no more, — constituted the only written creed of the church. This attracted Mr. M.'s special attention. He made several inquiries, appeared rather pleased, and seemed well satisfied with the answers given to his inquiries.

"The conference was a lively one — the brethren and sisters felt a great degree of freedom, though our numbers were comparatively small, and there was no 'silence,' not even 'for the space of half an hour,' in our meeting. Mr. M. manifested quite a degree of sensibility through the whole meeting, but said no more until near night, when he arose and spoke nearly to the following effect: 'Brethren' — this was a new appellation to us, when addressed by a Presbyterian, especially Mr. M., who had been so free in the use of opprobrious epithets, and it aroused feelings to the highest pitch of astonishment — 'Brethren, I arise simply to say, that I am under the necessity of leaving the meeting; I have business to attend to, and it is nearly night. I have troubled you with this remark, lest any one should think I left the meeting dissatisfied. It is not so; I have been edified, and should like to stay longer, but I cannot; and, brethren and sisters, we all have a duty to do for ourselves; it is our duty to worship God, and let us all see to it that we worship him acceptably.' He then left the house, with tears in his eyes. Some remarks were made concerning him, but all were satisfied that some unusual work was going on in his mind; and none could divine what would be the result.

"The next day was fair and pleasant for the season, the sleighing good, and at an early hour the house was thronged, — crowded to excess. It was our uniform custom to attend the communion at the close of the morning service. The bread had been broken and the elements

distributed, and a hymn had been read with which to close the festival; the choir were standing with books in their hands, when a Methodist sister, who had partaken with us, having received Scripture measure, *full and shaken down, it ran over*, and the tongue of eloquence had to relieve the surcharged heart. She spoke of her feelings when she first moved into the town, for she had been a resident in it but a few months; of her inveterate prejudices against Universalism; of her unwillingness to settle in the midst of such an immoral and irreligious people; of the fears of the demoralizing influence of their doctrine and example upon her family; of the extreme horror of the thought that any member of her family should, by accident or otherwise, be induced to attend one of their meetings, and of the alarm she felt when she first learned that one of her family had ventured into that conventicle of infidelity and profanity! But thanks be to God, she had ventured in herself, and instead of hearing profanity and witnessing crime, she had heard the Gospel of the blessed God, the word of eternal truth, which had filled her soul; and instead of meeting a set of infidels, scoffers of religion, and despisers of holy things, she had met a band of the true followers of Christ, united alone by the cords of Divine Love, and practising its fruits in works of pure and undefiled religion; and here she had found a home, a home dearer to her soul than she had ever before found on earth. Every soul was full, and the house continued crowded; very few, whose situations were peculiarly uncomfortable, had left. Every heart was moved by the earnestness of her discourse, and the pathos of her manner; a tear of gratitude glistened in each eye, and a smile of complacency beautified each countenance. In the midst of her discourse, I noticed a movement at the door; the people near it drew back, the congregation pressed still closer together, as if to make room for

others. I soon saw Mr. Moulton enter, attended by a number of the most influential members of his church, — thoughts, wild, confused, heterogenous, passed like lightning through my mind, which stretched itself beyond measure to divine the cause of their unexpected and strange adventure. 'Perhaps his visit is designed as a finale to warn us for the last time, and exhort us to repentance; and if we will not take heed, to anathematize us, in the presence of those who attended him, in the name of the God of Calvinism! Well, be his message what it may, Heaven has prepared us for it, it cannot deeply wound us.' But when I got a fair view of his face, and called to remembrance his visit the day before, I became satisfied that his message would not be of an unfriendly character. When fairly within the door, he stopped until the woman had closed her discourse, and then addressing me, with tears flowing freely from his eyes, he said, 'It is impossible for me to describe the feelings I have experienced for the last twenty-four hours.' His emotion choked his utterance, and there was not a dry eye among the hundreds that filled the house. Recovering, he resumed, 'I have called this the work of the devil — I have felt hard, and said many hard things against it; I have been stubborn, and struggled hard against it. Forgive me, brethren, I have seen my error; God, in mercy has shown it to me, and convinced me that this awakening, this reformation, is his work, and that these are his children; and that the children of God should meet together, they should not be divided. I have not attempted to preach to-day, but have been endeavoring to show my people that this is a reality, and, I trust, have in a good measure succeeded; and have obtained their consent to have a union meeting in the meeting-house this afternoon. I have called a vote in my congregation to decide the question, and all except one individual voted for it; and we will not be

angry at that brother, but pray for him.' He had hardly closed these remarks, when a shout, seemingly from every voice in the house, that appeared to reach the highest heavens, went up, of '*Glory to God in the highest!*' After a moment's pause, Mr. M. resumed: 'I wish, sir, if you favor this movement of my own, that you would call a vote in your congregation to ascertain whether they will agree to it, and come over to the meeting-house. I propose the meeting-house because it will hold all the people; whereas the schoolhouse will not. I do not mean for preaching, but for a social conference, for prayer and for exhortation; and to speak of the great things that God has done for us.' I replied: 'Br. Moulton, I have no occasion to call a vote, I vouch for every individual who attends my meeting; it is what we have all long desired; and for which we have devoutly prayed. God willing, we will meet you this afternoon.'

"Both congregations assembled in the meeting-house in the afternoon, with the exception of a very few of Mr. M.'s church; for he was deceived, there were three or four of his church who were opposed to the union meeting, and did not attend it. Our meeting that afternoon was a season of spiritual devotion; no root of bitterness was permitted to disturb the unity of our feelings. 'Every plant that our heavenly Father had not planted' was at that time 'plucked up.' Mr. M. and myself sat side by side in the 'unity of the spirit and in the bonds of peace,' while our exhortations and our prayers were manifestly influenced by the same spirit and embraced the same subjects; and it was evidently one of the happiest seasons for both congregations that they ever enjoyed. Mr. Moulton took occasion, in the course of the afternoon, to say: 'I would have no one infer, from the course I have taken, that I have changed my faith; but I am beyond particular creeds, and am resolved to unite and worship with the children of God

wherever I can find them, irrespective of their peculiar opinions.' And so he was at that time, infinitely beyond the creeds of all limitarians; he had followed his celestial conductor into the 'waters above his loins,' and was now delightfully bathing in the boundless ocean of GOD'S LOVE. Oh, the bare retrospection of that blessed day, though at so distant a period, fills my heart with emotion, and starts anew the fountain of my soul!

"The news of the miraculous events of this day flew like wild fire, through the instrumentality of both friend and foe. The disaffected part of Mr. M.'s church dispatched messengers to all the neighboring clergy of the denomination, informing them of his defection, and the disorganizing step he had taken in opening the door and inviting the enemy, in full force, in upon them! And shouts of joy and exultation, and angry and bitter execrations, came mingled upon every passing breeze. A letter of affectionate congratulation was addressed to Mr. M. and myself from an eminent and learned friend, who was then a preacher in another denomination; and it seemed, for the moment, that all the walls which separated the different denominations tottered to their very foundations.

"We enjoyed one, and only one more union meeting. The next Wednesday evening was our weekly conference at the centre of the town. We began to assemble at the schoolhouse, as usual, but soon saw the necessity of a larger building, and soon resorted to the meeting-house, which was soon filled with scores more than could find comfortable seats. The Baptists, forgetting for the moment their close communion, united with the rest; Mr. M. was yet in the spirit, and the Methodists were alive in the good work. One preacher, at least, of each denomination, and scores of laymen, and females of all denominations, lifted up their voices in praise and thanksgiving to the common Father of all, and but one spirit pervaded the whole assembly — the spirit of love to God

and love to man. The joys of this blessed season amply repaid me for all the toils, the privations and sufferings I had experienced in proclaiming the word of life to the world.

"But, alas for my friend Moulton! Little did he think, in that hour of transport and spiritual enjoyment, of the portentous cloud which was already gathering, and so soon to burst with its seven-fold thunders upon his devoted head. He was then sincere, honest with himself, with God and with man. He verily believed he was following the dictates of the spirit of God — and so he was, but the spirit of God, and the spirit of Calvinism, are very different things. Had he possessed the fortitude to have breasted the storm, he would soon have out-rode the tempest, into the calm and clear light of eternal TRUTH; and no doubt would have been a zealous and faithful laborer in the unlimited field of universal philanthropy. But alas! he had not the moral courage necessary for a soldier of the cross; and was therefore driven back by the fury of the tempest that assailed him, again into the frigid regions of Partialism! The very day following the conference, he was called upon to attend an association of clergymen in a neighboring town, and there dealt with; and the only satisfactory atonement he could make for his dereliction of duty, was to read a written confession of his guilt, and retraction of his crime, imputing all to the instigation of the devil, before his church on the very next Sabbath. But it proved a death-blow to Mr. M. and the church. He soon after this left the town, and wandered from place to place, never remaining long in one location, until he died.

"Some of the members of the church, and many of the congregation immediately separated from that meeting, and entirely from the denomination; and although they settled another minister after Mr. M. left them, they never recovered from the stroke, but continued to

dwindle away, until there were not enough left to support preaching. And they have long since become entirely extinct as a church, and their meeting-house pulled down and removed to another part of the town; and a Universalist meeting-house has been erected near the place where it stood.

"The period to which I have alluded was by far the most extraordinary, and the events which occurred the most unaccountable of any that I ever witnessed. There were certainly no extraordinary efforts made by me, nor another individual, to produce excitement at the commencement; nor, during the whole period, to keep it up, except what our Methodist friends had made; and theirs was of an entirely different character from their usual course, both before and after. Not a word was heard from them, at any time, about 'Divine wrath' — the 'vengeance of an angry God' — 'sinning away the day of grace' — 'probationary state' — and 'no alteration after death' — 'the hopeless state of the finally impenitent;' no fearful descriptions of hell, nor appalling representations of the 'great day of final judgment,' escaped their lips. They were indeed, enthusiastic, and made zealous efforts to excite sympathy and produce effect upon the passions; but it was all done by the spirit of love; 'The love of God to man, to a sinful and a guilty world!' 'The love of Jesus' — 'The great things he hath done for us,' — 'His groans, his sweat and blood in the garden, his condemnation, his stripes, his crown of thorns, his crucifixion, his bleeding side, his last prayer on the cross, — all, all to testify that his love was stronger than death — to show his willingness, his fervent desire, that all should be saved, and to open up a way for the salvation of the world.' Such was their theme; not an exceptionable word was heard in their sermons, their exhortations, or their prayers. And such discourses produced effect; but a very different effect from that

produced in ordinary exciting operations. It produced no slavish fear, no terrific apprehensions of endless misery, no groans of despair, no delirium. But it softened the heart, melted it down into the most perfect contrition for sin; it produced a wide, expanding charity, and a sympathy that ran from heart to heart, and caused tears of love to flow, like rivers, from surcharged souls.

"It was astonishing to see how easily, and how undesignedly these effects were produced. At all times, and in every place, in congregations of every description, they were visible. I had a call to deliver an evening discourse in a remote part of the town; and several of the Universalist brethren accompanied me — not a single Methodist attended the meeting. I commenced with no peculiar emotion, but rather in an unusually dull manner. I was rather fatigued, and was not so pathetic as was common in those days, during my whole discourse. The congregation was respectable, and mainly composed of young people, who, living remote from the usual place of meeting, had seldom attended. I had proceeded but a little way in my discourse, before I discovered a visible emotion among my hearers; and soon thirteen youths, of both sexes, were bathed in tears, and audibly sobbing, and remained so until the discourse closed. I then took occasion to converse with them separately, and inquired of them, Why this emotion? Whether or not they feared that God was an enemy, and about to cast them off forever, &c. No, no, — they had not even thought of any such thing. They had not thought of hell, nor of future misery; but they found there was something to which they had not attained, a reality in religion which they had never before discovered, and which they had never sought for; that while God had been good, gracious, and merciful to them, they had been indifferent about religion — ungrateful for the blessings He had so bountifully bestowed — slighted His Divine Favors, and sinned

against Him. In short, they were not as they desired to be; but no such thing as fear of hell, wrath of God, or endless misery, entered their minds, until I made the inquiries. This is the substance of what each expressed, as I conversed with them; there was little or no variation in the description of their feelings to me. The effect was lasting upon their minds. Several of them afterwards united with the Universalist church, but two or three who lived in the midst of a little Baptist community, were after that converted to Calvinism, and joined the Baptists.

"Nor was this revival confined exclusively to our town; but the spirit seemed to extend, in some degree, through the whole fraternity of Universalists in Central New York, and even farther. The town of Madison shared quite largely in it. Conference meetings were holden, preaching obtained as often as possible, and converts multiplied to such an extent, and so much engagedness was realized by the believers, that Mr. S. R. Smith and myself were called to assist in the organization of a church; and on that occasion numbers came forward and related their experience, and eight received baptism by immersion.

"Had we, during the period of this excitement, entered into that regular system of proselytism uniformly practised by other denominations, we might, unquestionably, have swelled the ranks of our church to triple or quadruple the numbers who united with us; but this I never could conscientiously consent to do. I never desired one to profess a belief in God's Universal grace, until he felt the vital efficacy of that faith; and I never desired one to unite with the church under a brief excitement, nor until he had arrived at years of discretion, until his judgment was matured, and he had sufficient time to examine the subject coolly and deliberately, and become understandingly and conscientiously convinced

of his duty for himself. Therefore, while I gave the candidates fairly to understand that it would be grateful to my feelings, and cause of unspeakable joy to my soul to have them come forward, I never failed to express my opinion on the importance of the step they were about to take, and caution them to do nothing precipitately. But without any extraordinary efforts on my part, or by any of the old members of the church, between sixty and seventy were added to the church in Hamilton; making the number of communicants to exceed a hundred.

"Whether any lasting or permanent benefit resulted to the Universalist denomination from this extraordinary movement, I leave for others to determine; but be the result what it may, I could never accuse myself of using any unwarranted exertions to produce it; nor of taking undue advantage of it to swell the ranks of nominal Universalists.

"That some beneficial results for a time certainly were realized, I think must be acknowledged; for from this very awakening in Hamilton, arose two faithful laborers in the vineyard of the great husbandman, — Mr. Oliver Ackley and Mr. Job Potter, who, ever since, have successfully devoted their time and talents, which are by no means of an inferior kind, to the promulgation of the blessed Gospel.

"Mr. Potter, though quite a young man when I moved into the State of New York, was a prominent member of a Baptist Church in the immediate neighborhood of my first location; but he soon became convinced of the truth of the doctrine of Universalism, and either withdrew voluntarily or was expelled from the church.

"He soon, however, became indifferent to the subject, married a wife, took up pettifogging for a livelihood, and lost all sympathy for religion in any form. He had frequently changed his place of residence, removing from one place to another, without abiding long in any one

location; and just before this awakening commenced, he had fixed his residence in the town of Hamilton. He was an early subject of the awakening — came forward at the meetings — made a most pathetic and humble acknowledgment of his back-slidings, avowed the renewal of his faith, of his religious devotion, and his determination now to persevere — made application for membership in the church, and, for the first time, took a place among us. He exhorted much in our meetings, and soon began to appoint meetings for himself, in which he took the lead; and shortly, from exhortation he began to sermonize, and to preach to the great acceptance of our friends. He is now extensively known among Universalists as a venerable father in Israel.[1]

"Mr. Ackley was quite a youth when I removed to Hamilton, and usually attended my meetings; but made no pretensions to religion until the time of this revival. He, too, was an early convert, and one of the first individuals who received baptism by immersion. He had an uncommon talent of natural eloquence, and improved it successfully in our conferences. At length he was invited and urgently requested to hold meetings abroad, in the neighboring towns, which after repeated solicitations, together with my influence, he with great modesty and manifest reluctance consented to do. And so edifying were his improvements, so confident were the people of his great usefulness as a preacher of the Everlasting Gospel, that he was persuaded, eventually, to take upon himself the solemn responsibilities of an evangelist. And how well he has sustained the dignity and sacredness of that high and holy vocation, I need not say; for he is well and extensively known to the denomination as a devoted Christian, and an able advocate of the truth,

[1] Mr. Potter died at Whitesboro, N. Y., Oct. 14, 1855, aged seventy years.

and enjoys the undivided confidence of all his acquaintances, and is greatly beloved by all who know him.[1]

"Still another benefit I delight to record, and which may probably be considered of as great vital utility as any one yet mentioned; and that is, it produced a faithful engagedness in reading, and a careful and diligent examination of the Scriptures; and this was general, among almost all classes within the compass of my field of labor. The excitement, itself, did not fully satisfy the ardent desires of its subjects. From what they saw, heard and felt, they were led to believe there was a reality in religion; but they wanted a more thorough knowledge of the foundation on which it rested — of the source from whence this hope sprang, and their feelings proceeded. And they were carefully exhorted, at least by one, not to take up with excited feelings — with a sympathy, however fervid and pleasing, in experimental operations, as a substitute for faith, or as a foundation for religious hope; but to go to the *Bible*, and try their experience by that infallible standard. And while they paid respectful attention to the opinions of others, treating no man's religious creed with contempt, yet never to receive my word nor that of any other fallible mortal as truth on the subject of religion, until they had carefully tried it by the touchstone of divine revelation; to be careful to submit all creeds, and all opinions offered them, to that ordeal before putting unqualified dependence on them; and to believe that they were capable of judging for themselves, and to have the moral courage to do so. And this they did. They read, and they compared Scripture with Scripture; they were fond of consulting together, and exchanging thoughts and opinions. They wanted mine; and probably for one whole year, I did not myself

[1] Mr. Ackley died at Orleans, Ontario County, N. Y., June 30, 1858, aged seventy years.

select texts to preach upon, in the town of Hamilton. Both male and female, youthful and gray-headed, would come with their texts, and solicit me to speak from them; and frequently I had half-a-dozen on hand at one time. But I felt happy to accommodate their feelings, and turned none away; for sincerity and inquiry characterized their applications, and I served them each according to the order of application. Having assumed the solemn vocation of a teacher of religion, learned or unlearned, qualified or unqualified, I realized all the awful responsibilities of that sacred station; and therefore felt under a solemn obligation to give a reason for my faith, and to render my opinion on any passage of the inspired word, either in private or in public, whenever respectfully called upon to do so." (Memoirs, pages 286–293, 298–303.)

Late in the year 1817 Rev. L. C. Todd visited the western part of the State of New York, and preached a few sermons. In 1821, having settled on a farm in Chatauque, with his father, Rev. Caleb Todd, fellowshipped that year by the Genesee Branch Association, and given considerable attention to the study of the Scriptures, he re-engaged in preaching, and shortly after moved to Salisbury, Herkimer County, where his father had formerly preached to the Baptists. After remaining in Salisbury two years, he returned to his farm, and preached in the region as opportunity offered. In 1831 he moved to Jamestown, where he had preached a portion of the time for many years. Here he also established a religious paper, to be mentioned hereafter. In April, 1833, he made a public renunciation of Universalism; and in a short time went on a circuit in the Methodist denomination. Sometime

during the year he wrote a book against Universalism and Universalists. He remained on the circuit about eight months, when, he says: "I felt convinced that my stomach was not made for Methodism. Many of their doctrines I never could believe, and many of their usages I always detested. And finding the real morals of such people, when stripped of their outward sanctity, to be worse than those of the people I had left, I determined to retire from public life. Accordingly I purchased a farm in the town of Nelson, Portage County, Ohio, and moved on in the summer of 1834, a little over one year from the time I left the Universalists." In the winter of 1843 he re-engaged in an examination of the Bible, and before long became more firmly than ever established in the belief of Universalism. He was re-fellowshipped the following June, having meanwhile taken charge of the Universalist Society in Parkman. In 1845 he published a work on Universalism,[1] from the preface to which we have quoted above. Mr. Todd represented Geauga County in the legislature of Ohio from 1856 to 1858, and died at Nelson, Portage County, Ohio, June 26, 1863, aged sixty-nine years.

The Western Association held its session for 1818 at East Hamilton, in the Congregational or Presbyterian Church already mentioned. It was in the midst of the religious awakening just described. This revival had

[1] Moral Justice of Universalism. To which is prefixed a brief Sketch of the Author's Life.

> Read me with care, then with candor, forsooth,
> Judge for yourself, and adhere to the truth.

By Lewis C. Todd. Erie, 1845. 18mo. pp. 192.

been in progress several months; and yet it seemed, says Mr. Smith, "but commencing its operations, and gathering its energies for a much wider diffusion of its influence. The whole community, including the several sects of Christians in the vicinity, seemed to be moved by one common religious impulse. And the meeting of the Association at this particular time and place, tended directly and most effectually, to send abroad a similar spirit through the instrumentality of the preachers and delegates from distant societies. Never before had there been a session of that body marked by so many and so strong indications of deep personal devotion, triumphant hope, and general prosperity. An unusual number and variety of facts combined to produce this result. Among these may be reckoned, the ardor and zeal of the society at the place of meeting; the number of those who devoutly loved, or sincerely and earnestly sought the truth; the efficiency of the discourses delivered; the number and character of new preachers to whom Letters of Fellowship were granted; and the entire harmony of the Council in all its measures and deliberations."

Letters of Fellowship were granted to John S. Flagler, Andrew Vandenberg, Amos Crandall, and Rufus Kingsley.

Rev. John S. Flagler resided in the town of Norwich, and was for many years one of the judges of the court in Chenango County, N. Y. He was educated under all the influences of the Dutch Reformed Church, and for many years felt and expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt for the doctrine of Universal Salvation, and opposed it with violence and

bitterness. Induced at length by some of his Universalist neighbors to attend a few of their social and prayer meetings, his prejudices gave way, and he began to investigate the claims of the new doctrine. Of his conversion, Mr. Stacy says: —

"He requested me to deliver a lecture in his house; and in the month of April, 1817, I was enabled to comply with his request. He had the influence to collect a pretty numerous congregation; and, at the close of the discourse, he arose and addressed the people with great animation and zeal, nearly as long as I had spoken, advocating the great principles of the doctrine, illustrating its moral influence, and urging the importance of an examination into its merits and claims. After the congregation had retired, he said to me, 'Brother Stacy, not three years ago' (he was living in a house probably three years old), 'not three years ago, I said that my doors were open, and my house free to hold meetings in for any denomination, except Universalists; but they should never darken my doors: now, God in his providence has so ordered it that you are the first preacher who has ever holden a meeting in my house.' Immediately after that, Judge Flagler appointed Conference meetings in his own house, and in different places in the neighborhood, in which he uniformly took the lead. His meetings soon began to excite quite an interest, and he extended them to a greater distance, discoursing more freely and expansively until he got to preaching in good earnest." (Memoirs, page 280.)

Mr. Smith thus describes Mr. Flagler's characteristics: —

"Mr. Flagler was a man of sound mind and unexceptionable moral character — a calm, circumspect, and

strong thinker; never yielding a point until convinced that it was no longer tenable; and never adopting an opinion while he could urge against it an objection that he felt unable to answer. His rigid adherence to these principles of conduct has sometimes been regarded as evidence of his obstinacy; but his general kindness, both of spirit and manner, his sterling integrity and uncompromising fidelity to the cause of truth, have won him the respect and confidence, if not the affection of his ministering brethren. As a public speaker, he has ever been distinguished for the clearness and comprehensiveness of his mind, and for the perfect plainness of his discourses. He was of all men, least liable to be misunderstood. He never used notes, but spoke on without any apparent excitement, in a slow and distinct conversational tone; but with sufficient force and distinctness to be easily heard."[1]

The principal portion of Mr. Flagler's ministry was spent in the neighborhood of Darien, Genesee Co., N. Y. In 1849, he moved to Conneaut, Ohio. A severe illness afflicting him in 1860, he returned to the State of New York, to die among his children, and closed his mortal career July 4th, 1860, aged 77 years.

Rev. Andrew Vandenberg was also brought up in the Dutch Reformed faith; and at an early age contemplated entering the ministry of that church; but delicate health, and the necessity of giving undivided attention to the business interests of his father, who died leaving his affairs involved, compelled him to relinquish his purpose. But his devotion to the doctrinal views in which he had been educated remained unabated; and having settled in Onondaga Co., N. Y.,

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. p. 15.

he attached himself to a Presbyterian Church in that vicinity, then under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Lansing. Attending a discussion between his pastor and Rev. Paul Dean, in 1812, Mr. Vandenberg was amazed and chagrined that "hour after hour passed away, without any apparent achievement in favor of his cherished opinions. He was, till this time, entirely ignorant of the real views of Universalists, and by consequence, of the nature and amount of Scriptural proof on which they relied. And as successive arguments and testimony were introduced and urged in favor of the Restitution, he appreciated their bearing, and was overwhelmed by their convincing power. At the close of the discussion he returned home — a Universalist."[1] His desire for the communion and fellowship of the Association was not based on a determination to give himself wholly to the ministry,— for his physical condition forbade that,— but that he might, under the sanction of the denomination, officiate at funerals and on such other occasions as his friends deemed necessary and proper. He was always held in high esteem by the believers, and accomplished much good through his necessarily limited labors. He died at Jamesville, Onondaga Co., N. Y., August 4th, 1856, aged 75 years.

Rev. Amos Crandall was a young man of a high order of talent. It is believed that he had formerly been connected with the Baptist Church. "The character of his discourses, added to the consideration of his sound common sense and personal worth, soon brought him to be regarded as one of the most useful as well

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. p. 18.

as talented ministers in the State." His later days were spent in Brooklyn, Susquehanna Co., Pa., where he "died in 1824, loved, honored, and deeply mourned."

Rev. Rufus Kingsley was a resident of Bradford County, Pa. Like Mr. Vandenberg, Mr. Kingsley "asked and obtained a Letter of Fellowship, that he might feel authorized to conduct public worship on such occasions as required the services of a clergyman. With few exceptions, it is understood that his labors have been limited to an attendance of funerals." We have no further information in regard to him.

Mr. Stacy speaks of this period, 1818, as one of great prosperity to the cause, all through the State of New York. "Our Zion was now beginning to 'enlarge the place of her tents, and stretching forth the curtains of her habitation;' she was 'lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes, and breaking forth on the right hand and on the left;' for although several who had had a temporary residence and location in our State, had removed to other States, our clerical band had increased to seventeen or eighteen, and societies and congregations were multiplying; and an increased interest to hear the preached word prevailed through the length and breadth of the field of our labors."

Mr. Smith, in the second volume of his "Historical Sketches," gives us a glimpse of some of the characteristics of the ministers of that day, as they were manifest at this session of the Association.

"The custom of appointing a preacher to deliver what is called the 'Occasional Sermon,' had not then obtained in any of the Associations. Of course, when the annual

session came round, and the proper organization of the Council had been effected — no one knew who was to deliver the opening discourse. This service, therefore, was generally devolved upon a stranger, if one was present — otherwise upon some young preacher whose *gifts* the denomination had not tested — or some one was selected who was considered ready for all emergencies, 'in season and out of season.' On this occasion, Mr. Whitnal, one of the most eccentric of mankind, but withal both a ready and a strong preacher, was appointed to deliver the morning sermon.

"Mr. Whitnal read his text, Rom. viii: 29, 30, and no doubt gave, as he more commonly did, a sound doctrinal discourse. I was in the desk with him, having been selected to offer the introductory prayer — and as a *special favor* to a young man, had just been informed that it was arranged for me to preach the first sermon in the afternoon. The nature and value of this timely notice will be better understood, when it is known that *not one* of our number used notes. And on these public occasions, our sermons were often extempore in the fullest sense of the term. Some *three* or *four* hours time for preparation, was therefore a favor of no small importance. For notwithstanding the occasion, and its requirements, the mind habituated to perpetual and similar exertions, could generalize a few ideas, and be able to present them with more of the semblance of method than if that time had been denied. When Mr. W. read his text, I was able to overlook the passage, and my mind was impressed with the words immediately following. These were accordingly selected as the basis of my own discourse.

"The afternoon came, and with it the services as previously arranged. On giving out the text, Rom. viii: 31, my successor, — who was to preach the *second* sermon on the close of mine, — was observed to smile; and at the

same time he whispered to another, that he should take the next verse. Happily I am neither permitted nor disposed to judge what the character of my sermon was; though it is by no means difficult to imagine what it must have been under the circumstances. Whatever it was, it was as the lady recommended to John Wesley, — such as I had 'trusted the Lord for;' and it was kindly received.

"At the close of my discourse, Mr. Kneeland entered the Desk, and gave as the text, Rom. viii: 32, thus furnishing the evidence by the selection, that unless he had previously made the passage the subject of discourse, his only preparation for its delivery was made in about *half an hour*, and while listening to another. His sermon, like most of his discourses, was exceedingly plain and intelligible, and was delivered in a strain of fervency and earnestness which his cold nature did not often permit him to evince. Thus closed the public services of the first day.

"On the following day, Mr. Ferriss preached the morning sermon. And the congregation appeared much gratified when he read for his text, Rom. viii: 33, thus giving the assurance of four successive discourses from *five* consecutive verses of the same chapter. He was regarded as a sound, and indeed a powerful preacher, and never did any one more effectually sustain a reputation than he did on this occasion. His object was to exhibit the scripture doctrine of Election, as distinguished from any and all limited or partial views or results; and this he effected with a power and pungency of argument and expression, alike intelligible and convincing. The Congregational clergyman was present, and commenced taking notes with the utmost composure. Indeed, it was the opinion of some, that when he placed himself in a conspicuous seat in front of the pulpit, and drew forth his writing materials, he did so with something more

than ordinary self-complacency. However this might be, after listening for some *ten* or *fifteen* minutes he unconsciously dropped his paper, and clenching his pencil with a convulsive grasp, he remained fixed as a statue till the end of the discourse. Had the message to which he was listening been communicated by some immediate and visible superhuman agency, he could not have betrayed more astonishment. The subject, at least the view taken of it was evidently new to him; and it was enforced by arguments so comprehensive and convincing, and proofs so overpowering, that in his surprise, he lost all self-command.

"The first sermon in the afternoon, was delivered by Dr. Green, from Rom. x: 14, 15. The Dr. had formerly preached in the Baptist connexion, where he had imbibed that peculiar *tone* for which the ministers of that denomination were formerly so much distinguished. This tone, as well as some habitual oddities, he brought with him when he became a convert to Universalism. Among his peculiarities was a very remarkable facility in illustrating his discourses. He never appeared at a loss — something, and it seemed quite immaterial what, presented itself and was thrown in, and generally in the right place, and gave the hearer the most vivid impression of the thing intended. It rendered the merest abstraction tangible, and made thought itself an object of sight. An instance in point occurred during the delivery of the sermon in question, which none of his auditors will be likely to forget. He defined at considerable length the qualifications of a Gospel minister, and insisted that if the preacher was faithful to his trust — if he communicated only that which he was sent to teach, then he would himself be sustained by divine *grace*, and become the honored instrument of dispensing it to those 'that heard him.'

"Here the Dr. commenced drawing an opposite char-

acter. He supposed a preacher going forth in his own strength; and inferred the kind of influences by which he would be moved, and which he would most probably exert in the moral world. And he run this parallel along until he had occasion to illustrate the destitution of such a professed messenger of good tidings to sinful man. At the moment, and with the utmost gravity, he threw himself forward; and leaning across the pulpit and reaching far downwards with his hands, he gave a see-saw motion to the part of his body visible from below. When the motion was downward, he exclaimed — '*a preacher without the grace of God, is like,*' — here he stopped, apparently to master his subject, take breath, and lift himself up again. Having accomplished this — if indeed so much was intended — he came pitching down again, and at the same time repeating — '*is like,*' when, as before, he stopped short, and again remained silent till he recovered nearly an erect position. The next moment and he was again coming down with the same, '*is like,*' when, pausing an instant, he began slowly to rise, and finished the sentence by saying — '*like a pump without water.*' This was uttered with solemn gravity, and in the most delicious cadence of his old Baptist tones; and accompanied as it was, with an action every way suited to the subject, it may well be imagined that the effect was absolutely irresistible. The repetition of the apparent effort to reach the subject, the seeming difficulty and delay in doing so, notwithstanding the ludicrous manner in which it was conducted, gave a degree of force and clearness to the idea conveyed, that no mere words can ever impart. We saw as it were, the mental and physical exertions of mankind for the attainment of the water of life; saw them seeking it where it was not to be found, saw them looking for it through instrumentalities as dry and deficient as themselves, and hundreds smiled and wept under the impression."

The Genesee Branch Association, at its session in 1818, held in Ontario, Ontario County, gave a Letter of Fellowship to Rev. Thomas Gross. Mr. Gross was then quite advanced in years, and preached as a Congregationalist several years. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1784, and settling over the Orthodox Second or Centre Church, in Hartford, Vt., was "ordained June 7, 1786, dismissed Feb. 1808, and soon after deposed from the ministry."[1] Nothing was charged against his character. He had simply departed from the faith held by the Congregationalists. Leaving Vermont, he for a while engaged in teaching in an academy, in Cortland Village, N. Y., preaching there and in the surrounding country as he had opportunity. From there he moved to Williamsville, Erie County, and subsequently to Buffalo, where he established a Universalist paper called "The Gospel Advocate." In 1823, in consequence of an unfortunate affection of his voice, he was obliged to cease preaching. He was a man of marked ability, and of great moral excellence.

The General Convention met in 1818 at Chesterfield, N. H. Rev. Elias Smith, of whom we have spoken under date of 1801, was fellowshipped. Letters of Fellowship were also granted to Rev. Messrs. John Bisbe, Levi Briggs, and Joshua Emmons.

Mr. Bisbe was born in Plympton, Mass., in 1793. He was fitted for college by Rev. Z. Willis, of Kingston, at whose house he made the acquaintance of the late Rev. W. A. Drew, who thus spoke of him many years ago: "He discovered an extraordinary aptness in

[1] Dr. Davis's Manuscript History of the Pastors of New England, vol. iii. p. 21. Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.

learning. What to some is a task, to him was a pleasure, and without much seeming effort, attained. His progress was rapid, almost beyond example." Having fitted for college, he entered Brown University, one or two years, we believe, in advance, where he was distinguished through his course of studies, as the ripest scholar of his class. He graduated in 1814. On leaving college he began a humorous publication, entitled "Olla Podrida;" an eccentric performance, of which three or four numbers, of about a dozen or sixteen pages each, appeared at irregular intervals. For a while he had charge of an academy at Taunton, Mass., and subsequently taught a school in Hinsdale, N. H. He gave several months to the study of law, but it became distasteful to him, and having become much interested in Universalism under the preaching of Rev. James Babbitt, he was persuaded to visit Rev. Hosea Ballou, in Boston, who encouraged him to enter the ministry, and took him with him to the Convention, where he received fellowship. After preaching a few times, he went to Stafford, Conn., the home then of Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, who said of Mr. Bisbe: —

"One or two of his earliest attempts in this place, at preaching, were failures in his view, and indeed in that of most of his hearers. His language perplexed them, and his diffidence disconcerted himself. In this situation, he adopted and faithfully pursued a measure which few people of his susceptible feelings would have had the moral courage and fortitude to execute: he sought opportunities with all the most judicious and candid of his hearers, to request of them frank and full disclosures of the defects and improprieties in his performances, and suggestions for improvements; listening to them with

patience and accepting advice with cheerful gratitude. . . . The improvement in his public performances was rapid, and excited a corresponding interest in his audiences. At home, his application to study was sometimes excessive; and one might see him fixed at his books and paper, in an almost unvarying posture, for several days, with no relief but at the hours of meals and of sleep."

In 1819 he became pastor of the societies in Brookfield and Western. He also statedly ministered to the society in Charlton. Meanwhile a new society was rising up under his care in the southeastern portion of Brookfield bearing the Indian name Podunk; a meeting-house built there was dedicated Nov. 14, 1821, and Mr. Bisbe was ordained the afternoon of the same day. In 1824 he settled in Hartford, Conn., and in addition to his pastoral duties, became editor of the "Religious Inquirer." In 1827 he took charge of the society in Portland, Me. On the 1st of March, 1829, he was attacked with a lung fever, of which he died on the 8th. He was pronounced by John Neal, in the "Yankee," "decidedly the most eloquent preacher in our part of the country."[1]

We have very little information concerning Mr. Briggs. As will be seen in another chapter, he was interested and active in an early stage of the Restorationist controversy. In 1822 he became pastor of "The First Universalist Parish or Society" in Westminster, Mass. In the spring of 1825 he withdrew from the ministry, and died not long after.

Rev. Joshua Emmons, as will be seen in the account of the adoption of "The Winchester Profession" given

[1] See the "Trumpet and Universalist Magazine," April 4, 1829.

in the first chapter of this volume, was formerly connected with, and a deacon in the First Universalist Church in Boston. When he began to preach, and what his career was after receiving fellowship, we are not informed.

In the spring of 1819 Rev. William Lowe, then residing in Simpson Co., Ky., made a visit to Christian County, in the same State, and commenced a series of Universalist meetings, resulting in the organizing of a church, on the third Sunday in May. Mr. Lowe was at that time advanced in years, but he continued to visit and minister to the church "the third Sunday in every third month for more than fifteen years, and under his administration the church continued to grow and prosper. The old man finally wore out, sickened and died. To say that Father Lowe was a good man is not saying enough; he was a righteous man and a Christian in every sense of the word." The work was then taken up by Rev. Joab Clark, a native of the place. The people of the neighborhood, without regard to sect, erected for him a log meeting-house, 24 by 28 feet, which they called "Consolation Church." It is situated about thirteen miles northwest from Hopkinsville, on the Buttermilk road. Here Mr. Clark preached nearly forty-eight years, and gathered a church of about one hundred and fifty members. Rev. Thomas Abbott now ministers to them, paying them quarterly visits. Mr. Clark was born July 23, 1807, ordained in 1835, and died Jan. 23, 1882.

"Well versed in the Scriptures, of logical mind, and more than average ability, his preaching was acceptable and attended with marked results of good. To his influ-

ence is largely due the growth of Universalist sentiment in Christian County and the adjoining region. . . . He occupied a conspicuous position in the community where he lived, being generally respected and loved. In public affairs he always manifested great interest, and his opinions had much influence with his fellow-citizens. As a member of the legislature, and in the discharge of various public duties, he made proof of an inflexible integrity joined with good sense and a keen regard for the best interests of the whole people. In the time of the nation's struggle for existence he was a 'Union man,' and he never faltered in his loyalty."[1]

We now enter upon the notice of a period when opposition to the spread of Universalism was determined and persistent, — more so, perhaps, than had characterized any of the past. The spread of the truth had far exceeded the anticipations of its advocates, and prosperity and hope were urging them into new fields. Mr. Smith says of the year 1819: —

"It was a year of general and great activity in the denomination; and the best exertions of both preachers and societies were never put forth with greater zeal, or more determined perseverance. The opposition encountered was probably more matured than at any previous time. Be this as it may — it was settled, cold, calculating and systematic. It fabricated or magnified some idle report to the discredit of Universalism; and always laying the scene in the distance, circulated it with busy activity and unblushing assurance. It stood aloof from any knowledge of Universalism, and when professing to state the principles and doctrines of the believers in the restitution, ignorantly or maliciously misrepresented both

[1] The Universalist Register, for 1883, pp. 86, 87.

the believers and their opinions. It busied itself in efforts to prevent the attendance of people upon the meetings of the denomination, by subjecting church members to rebuke, by warning the timid, by admonishing the youth, and by exerting every available form of influence over those it hoped to control.

"Universalists had already been effectually taught that they must rely on their own resources; but they seemed now more than ever convinced of the necessity of concentrating and embodying such as they could command. And as in all other ages of the world, reproach for the sake of honest opinion, induces the oppressed to cling to their views with greater tenacity; so Universalists not only cherished theirs with deeper fondness, but put forth every effort for their diffusion. And it is morally certain that ministers and others who sincerely loved the truth and were even willing to make sacrifices for its promotion, were impelled to put forth energies, and to perform labors, and to endure privations which they never would have done, but for the vindictiveness of the opposition. And from what is known of the labors of ministers, there is little doubt that a greater number of sermons were preached by them during this year, than by an equal number in any other year, since the Establishment of the denomination in the State."[1]

The Western Association met this year in the town of Lisle, Broome County, and enjoyed a pleasant and happy session.

"The congregations," says Mr. Smith, "were unusually large, and evinced a deep and devotional interest in the truth. The public services were creditable to those who took part in them, and the business of the session was conducted with entire and cordial unanimity. The com-

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 46, 47.

munications received from delegates, by letters from different societies and churches, and from preachers in attendance, were very generally of the most encouraging character. If they did not give assurance of great increase, they contained the evidence of fidelity and harmony; two things to be prized above any mere aggregation of numbers. And these were among the things that gave such a deep and affecting interest to the annual meetings of the Association. They forcibly recalled the impression which we have of the occasional assemblies of the primitive disciples, who congregated as best they might, poured out their supplications and thank offerings to God with full hearts, exhorted one another to love, patience and good works — and then went forth to bear wrong and reproach from an unbelieving world. All were happy, for the assembled multitudes were for the time withdrawn from the scenes of their conflicts and trials, and here found sympathizing friends.

"Several things conspired to remind us of the early days of Christianity — and even of the peculiar circumstances connected with the advent of our Lord. The public services were held in a capacious Barn; and many a patriarch of the faith was most literally 'cradled in a manger.' The factitious distinctions of human condition were here most effectually levelled; and rich and poor, and old and young renewed the recollection that the great Master of Christians — 'the author and finisher of their faith,' had once condescended to the same humiliation. Not the slightest degradation was felt — for it was not *place*, but *principle* in which all were concerned. And from the place went out influences that strengthened many kindred hearts, that wrought new convictions of duty, and inspired new resolutions to profess, support, and vindicate the 'Grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men.'"[1]

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 51, 52.

Letters of Fellowship were granted by the Western Association to Elisha Packard and Alfred Peck, "two upright and faithful men, who through long years of trial retained their integrity unimpeached and unimpeachable." Mr. Packard was not wholly engaged in the work of the ministry, but almost uniformly employed in secular business. He was originally a Baptist, and before receiving the fellowship of the Universalists had been for several years master of a vessel engaged in foreign trade. On a return voyage to America he was wrecked, and during the sufferings and peril of that terrible scene was converted to Universalism. Rescued, and taken to Boston, he applied to Rev. Paul Dean for a testimonial under which he might preach that glorious truth which had brought such comfort and peace to his soul. Such a document was furnished him, and thus began his ministry.

Rev. Alfred Peck was a native of Vermont. He was ordained at Hopewell, N. Y., in 1822. He died in Stoughton, Wis., after a very brief illness, March 4, 1860, aged 69 years. His ministry during the forty-one years of his active labors was spent in Northern Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, Iowa, and Wisconsin. One who knew him well said of him: "He was zealous, earnest, faithful, and true; and his character was without a stain. He dearly loved Universalism, and labored hard to spread it among men."[1] He was a man of good abilities, and by his pen as well as by his voice he sought to spread the knowledge of the truth.

When Rev. John Murray became established in

[1] Universalist Register for 1861, p. 50.

Gloucester, he was importuned by parents to baptize and christen their children. Believing that baptism was only sanctioned in the New Testament in connection with profession of faith in the Gospel, he refused; but feeling that children were God's gift, and that a recognition and acknowledgment of that fact was becoming and commendable, he instituted the ceremony of the Dedication of Children, about the year 1780. A touching instance of its observance is thus related by Rev. S. R. Smith: —

"In the summer of this year (1819), a powerful impression for a time, was made upon a very large congregation by the *Dedication of a child.* And the incident is related, not for its intrinsic importance — but for the information of those who may not know that such an ordinance is observed by Universalists. It is however the distinctive denominational rite. Children are indeed baptised by Universalists; but in this there is nothing peculiar, as other denominations do the same. And though it is believed that some other sects sometimes *Dedicate* — it is not in accordance with their general customs. No water is used in the administration — the rite being intended as an imitation of our Saviour's example of taking 'little children in his arms,' or 'laying his hand upon their heads,' and blessing them.

"A large congregation had assembled at the Baptist Church in Norwich, Chenango County, at the ordination of Mr. Flagler — of whom we have already spoken. At the close of the services appertaining to that occasion, the auditory was requested to remain; and the Rev. Mr. Stacy placed himself at the altar and announced that the rite of dedication was to be administered. The parents (Thurlow Weed Esq. and wife, now of Albany), came forward and presented the infant, when the adminis-

trator offered a short prayer. There was the hush and stillness of death over the congregation — for as few had ever witnessed the rite, every one seemed intent on seeing and hearing everything connected with its administration. Immediately after the prayer, Mr. Stacy took the child in his arms and commenced the benediction; but after uttering a few words his voice sunk — he paused — the service was wholly suspended. Yet no one moved — moments, minutes even passed — still all seemed fixed in their places and in silence. I ventured to look over the pulpit in which I was standing — beneath it stood the good man, tenderly holding the child in his arms — his face turned toward the heavens — the tears streaming down his cheeks; and his utterance denied by the overwhelming intensity of his feelings. Soon the whole congregation burst into tears, and sighs and sobs spoke forth the deep emotions of the heart. The service was resumed and suitably closed — and that congregation broke up with deeper and more hallowed feelings than ordinarily falls to the lot of worshippers. For there was a beauty and propriety in the service which owned God as a Father; which acknowledged his right to give and take away; and which sought his blessing upon the head of infant innocence, that soothed, and won, and satisfied the soul."[1]

Mr. Smith records that in the year 1819 an extraordinary movement occurred in Henderson, in the County of Jefferson, N. Y.: —

"It is believed that the only instance in which a Universalist clergyman had ever preached in the town, was some *six or seven years previous.* In the adjoining town of Ellisburg, a small society of believers had been gathered — but at the time, it did not keep up a meeting, and

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 62–64.

had never had preaching except on occasional visits from distant clergymen. No effort had been made for the purpose of gathering a congregation in Henderson, and it is probable that few persons had any knowledge of the doctrine of the restitution, beyond the mere name. But some two or three individuals not only believed 'with the heart,' but when a strong religious effort was made by the Baptist congregation, they were found abundantly competent to speak in vindication of divine truth. The subject thus introduced during a season of excitement in an opposing sect, became one of general and absorbing interest; and in a few months — without preaching, in a single instance, — without denominational books, save the Bible — without human aid, except that of conversation and exhortation — but under the blessing of God, a large and respectable Universalist Society was gathered and duly organized.

"In the course of the fall, a committee of the society requested the Rev. S. Jones — the only preacher of the order whom they had ever heard — to visit and spend at least a few days, in preaching to them the Gospel of the Kingdom. From some cause, it was not convenient for him to do so; and I was desired to make the journey as his substitute. I accordingly went the last week in December, and 'abode with them' *six days*, including one Sunday; and in that time delivered *eight* discourses to very attentive, and in most instances, large congregations. The pervading feeling and interest everywhere exhibited among the people at that time, bore stronger indications of that tone of feeling and purpose which we may suppose distinguished the primitive Christians, than any similar movement which I have ever witnessed. There was no fanaticism and no pretension — no noise and no confusion — no midnight orgies and no religious dissipation. But a large proportion of the population of that, and the adjoining town of Ellisburg, had been

moved to think much and earnestly, but calmly and soberly, on the subject of Christian truth, and its great importance to mankind; and many — very many embraced the doctrine of Universal salvation. And not only many of the youth favored or adopted that doctrine, but in some instances converts to the truth were made from opposing sects, before a single sermon was preached to the society by a minister of the reconciliation. Such was the religious movement in Henderson."[1]

The spread of the cause in the Eastern States led to the issue of the first number of the "Universalist Magazine," July 3, 1819. Under various names, and in different forms, this weekly paper has continued to the present, as will be more fully set forth in detail in another chapter. Rev. Hosea Ballou was the first editor, and Henry Bowen the printer and publisher. Mr. Bowen was, from his coming to Boston in 1817, a constant attendant on Mr. Ballou's ministry. In the summer of 1818 he conceived and put into execution the plan of printing Mr. Ballou's sermons in pamphlet form, and the success attending this effort emboldened him to attempt the issue of the "Universalist Magazine." The paper at once became not only an efficient vehicle for the conveyance of denominational news, but also a missionary in localities where there were scattered Universalists, but too few in number and too far apart to have the privilege of even occasional preaching. The papers were loaned to neighbors, passed through many hands, and were literally worn out in many localities from constant service. As a consequence, believers multiplied, and the way was opened

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 65, 66.

for the establishment of churches where, without the paper as a herald and preparer of the way, it would have been impossible. Although Mr. Bowen's connection with the paper ceased in 1828, when its size, form, and name was changed, yet he continued through a long life an earnest and zealous Universalist, unassuming and retiring in his manners, a truly good man and sincere Christian. "He died in West Roxbury, Mass., July 18, 1874, in his 81st year, rejoicing in the faith which he had ever honored in his life and done so much to promote."

A valuable accession was made to the Universalist ministry in Vermont in 1819 by the conversion of Rev. John Elliot Palmer. Mr. Palmer was born in Portsmouth, N. H., Feb. 22, 1783. In 1809 he was ordained a preacher in the Christian Baptist denomination, — a sect organized by Rev. Elias Smith, and chiefly distinguished from other Baptists of that period by being anti-Calvinistic. For a short time he itinerated in Rockingham County, and subsequently settled as pastor at Danville, Vt., where he remained thirteen years. While there a circumstance occurred resulting in his making the investigations of the Scriptures which led him to the belief of Universalism. He thus relates it: —

"While I was settled at Danville, as a Christian Baptist, a very respectable young man, who had never been converted, belonging to one of the best families in my society, went out on a fishing excursion and was drowned. I heard the sad news soon after it reached the village, producing general sympathy, mourning and lamentation. I knew I should be sent for to preach his funeral sermon, and that I was powerless to comfort the bereaved fam-

ily under the circumstances, and at the same time be true to my faith in the doctrine of endless misery which I had believed and preached up to that time. I was greatly distressed. I compared my situation with that of the apostles who were comforted in all their tribulation that they might 'be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith they themselves were comforted of God;' and I found my condition very unlike that of Paul and his co-laborers — that the doctrine which I had preached was far from comforting myself when applied to the destiny of that young brother, whose moral character was above reproach, and that I was wholly unable to comfort his bereaved friends by preaching to them a doctrine which did not comfort me. I never slept a wink that night. I walked the house, I read my Bible, I prayed for light, and I never preached the doctrine of endless misery again." [1]

Shortly after this incident Mr. Palmer avowed himself a Universalist, and settled in Barre, Vt., where he had a successful pastorate of eighteen years. On leaving Barre he lived two years in Waitsfield, Vt., and after that devoted himself to the work of a missionary in the northern part of Vermont and New Hampshire. The author of the brief biographical sketch given in the "Universalist Register" for 1874 thus describes Mr. Palmer as a preacher: "We have a vivid and grateful remembrance of his preaching in Piermont, N. H., and Bradford, Vt., in the years 1830–1833, and can vouch for the devout, evangelical spirit of his services, the logic of his sermons, the perspicuity of his style, his fluency of speech, the impressiveness of his delivery. He spoke always extemporaneously, but his discourses were always coherent, sound and clear. There was an

[1] Universalist Register for 1874, p. 123.

evident sincerity and earnestness in the man that attracted the hearer's attention, and there was a natural tremulousness to his voice that gave a peculiar pathos to his discourses. There were in his words a certain indefinable grace and force which are the gift of God and not communicable by art or learning. We have heard many preachers, of more science and a wider fame, since then, but never have we heard his superior for clearness of exposition of religious truth or pungency of application in pressing truth home and making it practically felt. He was a sound theologian, a logical thinker, not carried away by the ultra-liberal tendencies of the age, as so many others have been. He was a man of deep religious feeling. He lived near to God, cherishing habitually a profound sense of dependence on Him, and this became a ruling sentiment in his heart and life, giving tone and coloring to his public ministrations." [1] He died at Waterford, Vt., March 23, 1873, in the ninety-first year of his age.

The Genesee Branch Association met in 1819 in Pittsford, Monroe County, "and as usual," says Mr. Smith, "enjoyed an interesting and encouraging session." One new society, located in the town of Henrietta, was received into fellowship. A Letter of Fellowship was granted to Rev. Pitt Morse, who was at that time a member of the society ministered to by Rev. Mr. Billinghurst, at Pittsfield. His ordination occurred at the session of the Western Association at Morrisville, Madison County, the following June. Mr. Smith thus speaks of the manner in which Mr. Morse impressed the ministers and people at that time: —

[1] Universalist Register for 1874, p. 124.

"Though personally known to many members of the Council, still few in central N. Y. had any knowledge of his talents as a preacher. The older clergymen were desirous of knowing more of his ability to sustain the pulpit, before granting the request for ordination. It was accordingly arranged that he should preach the morning sermon on the following day. On these anniversary occasions it was always intended to have the desk well sustained, especially on the second day; and this was so generally understood that many persons made arrangements to attend on that day in preference to the preceding. The chagrin and disappointment of many of the congregation on entering the house, was apparent and undisguised. Some uttered their indignation aloud — saying 'they had come miles to hear preaching, and behold there was a *boy* in the pulpit.' A few of the older preachers were in absolute terror, lest the service should result in failure. And these feelings and apprehensions were so pervading that for a time, few in the congregation ventured to look the young preacher steadily in the face. But the services commenced, the text was given out, and the sermon progressed. The usual silence indicated that the speaker received respectful attention, but it was still apparent that apprehension was not allayed; nor was it difficult to imagine that the throbbing of hearts from sheer anxiety, could be heard throughout the congregation. After a few minutes, however, the large audience began to look up, and to breathe easier; the attention became more obvious, fixed, earnest, and finally intense. And strong men, and preachers of many years of trial and endurance became wholly absorbed, and unconscious of everything save the sermon — but sat motionless, their eyes fixed upon the speaker, and weeping like children. Never was a congregation more happily disappointed. A total failure had been feared, and it had terminated in a triumph. Preachers and people were in

absolute raptures; and from that moment the character and talents of the young minister were effectually known to the denomination." [1]

After being ordained, Mr. Morse itinerated several months, during which time he went as far north as Jefferson County, N. Y.; and in the fall of 1820 he arranged to preach one half the Sundays at Henderson, and the remaining half at Watertown and Brownville. Ere long, however, Henderson and Watertown claimed all his time. In May, 1821, he held an oral discussion with Rev. R. M. Everts, a Presiding Elder in the Methodist Church, which placed him in the highest rank as a fair and powerful debater, and gave a new impetus to Universalism in that region. In November, 1822, he commenced the publication of a semi-monthly religious paper, entitled "The Herald of Salvation." The last number was published Feb. 26, 1825, when it was merged in "The Universalist," published in Utica, N. Y. In 1826 he went as pastor to Lombard St. Church, Philadelphia, and while there, in connection with Rev. S. R. Smith, then settled at Callowhill Street, in the same city, revived, for a year, the publication of "The Herald of Salvation." In the spring of 1827 Mr. Morse yielded to the solicitations of old friends, and again became pastor of the Church in Watertown, where he remained till 1838, when he removed to Henderson, but after a few years again returned to Watertown, where he continued to reside till his decease, March 19, 1860, aged 64 years. Mr. Morse was a good man, thoroughly consecrated to the Christian cause. His dying testimony was: "As regards

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 109–111.

the unsearchable riches of Christ, which I have preached, my mind has undergone no change, except to acquire a deeper conviction of their eternal reality."

The session of the General Convention in 1819 was held at Lebanon, N. H. A great degree of prosperity was reported, and the cause was represented as spreading in all portions of the land. The Circular Letter issued to the churches said: —

"Several new Societies have been organized during the last year in Massachusetts, which need an Apollos to water and nourish them with that doctrine that falls like rain and distils like dew; like the small rain on the tender herb, or the gentle dew where no rain falleth. Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Shirley, and other towns are favored with a regular ministry whose doctrine is in unison with peace on earth and good will to man. Similar remarks may be made in relation to some of the most populous towns in New Hampshire, where the equality of the government, and the habitual liberality of the people, render the future prospects highly grateful to the truth. Societies in Washington, Hillsborough, Henniker, Warner, Sutton, Goffstown, Weare, and other adjacent towns, present their reiterated solicitations to the Convention for some faithful and worthy preachers to come among them. Indeed, to insert a catalogue of the societies destitute of preaching, would render this letter prolix and tedious."

At this session ordination was conferred on Revs. Royal Gage and Robert L. Killam; and a Letter of Fellowship was granted to Rev. Charles Hudson.

Of Rev. Royal Gage we have no further information, except that in the list of "Ministers in Fellowship," published in 1821, his residence is given as St. Johns-

bury, Vt. In 1822 he left the Universalists and united with the Methodists.

Mr. Killam was born in Salem, Mass., June 29, 1790. He was brought up in the belief of the most rigid Calvinism. During the pastorate of Rev. Edward Turner in Salem, Mr. Killam was induced to listen to him, and in consequence became a convert to Universalism. He studied with Mr. Turner, and began to preach in June, 1818, delivering his first sermon in a schoolhouse in Saugus. In December of that year, he received a Letter of Fellowship from the Southern Association, at its session in Boston. At the time of his ordination he was preaching at Marlborough, from which place he removed to Attleboro, where he remained eight years; and in May, 1829, he took charge of the society in Scituate. His health failed, affecting his mind, in 1837, and from that time on he did not preach with any regularity. He died early in January, 1867, aged 77 years.

Rev. Charles Hudson was born in Marlborough, Mass., Nov. 14, 1795. His childhood and youth were passed on his father's farm; but a love of books was early awakened, and without the advantages of a collegiate education, he acquired literary tastes and habits. In 1821 he was ordained, at the session of the General Convention, in Hudson, N. Y. His residence at that time was in Preston, Conn. In 1824 he became pastor of "The First Universalist Parish or Society in Westminster," Mass., — a position which he occupied for eighteen years. In 1841 he was elected Member of Congress from the Worcester North District, and represented the District till 1849. Then for four years he

was Naval Officer at Boston. While pastor at Westminster he was also in political life, being member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1828 to 1833; State Senator from 1833 to 1839; member of the Governor's Council from 1839 to 1841. During all these years of activity in public affairs he was also busy with his pen, publishing in 1827 "Letters to H. Ballou;" in 1829 "Reply to Balfour's Essays;" in 1832 a history of the town of Westminster; in 1857 "Doubts concerning the Battle of Bunker Hill;" in 1862 a history of the town of Marlborough; and in 1877 a history of the town of Hudson, which had been taken from Marlborough and incorporated as a town, and named Hudson in his honor, in 1866. He was also, for several years, editor of the "Boston Daily Atlas." Mr. Hudson was, as will be more fully shown in another chapter, active in the Restorationist controversy and secession.

Rev. Varnum Lincoln, Mr. Hudson's successor as pastor at Westminster, said of Mr. Hudson, as he knew him as a parishioner: —

"I found him one of the most friendly and genial of men, ready to aid by his constant presence on the Sabbath, by his wise counsel and words of encouragement his young and inexperienced successor. . . . On the great question of human destiny, the final perfection and happiness of the race, and the means for its accomplishment, we were in perfect accord, and that was sufficient for both. His Universalism was clear and emphatic and of the same kind as that accepted by nine-tenths of our church at the present time. . . . He was one of earth's true nobility, faithful and conscientious in the discharge of the humblest duties even while occupying positions

of honor and influence, following without regard to consequences the strict line of rectitude as he understood it. His life as a preacher was without reproach, and his career as a statesman without dishonor. He was sincerely religious in purpose and devout in spirit. Mingling as he did, in the later years of his active life, in political and secular affairs, he never lost his attachment to spiritual things, nor ceased to sustain by word, deed and example the institutions of religion. For these he retained, to his last days, undiminished affection and interest. And they were undoubtedly to him a source of divine strength and joy as he neared the valley of shadows."[1]

Mr. Hudson died at Lexington, Mass., which had been his home since 1849, on the 4th of May, 1881.

In 1820 the Western Association held its session in Morrisville, Madison Co., N. Y., under circumstances more gratifying and encouraging than had probably ever before been enjoyed since its organization. "Thirteen clergymen, with about double that number of lay delegates were in attendance;" and the reports of the state of the order which these respectively furnished inspired new hopes, and new resolutions to perseverance. Fellowship was given to societies in Dryden, Oxford, Sangerfield, and Vernon. "The nominal increase of the number of societies, however, was by no means in proportion to the actual advancement of the denomination." Letters of Fellowship were granted to Salmon Adams, James Thompson, and Arthur Field.

Mr. Adams was at this time a practising physician. He was a man of good attainments, faithful and earnest in his belief, and honorable and upright in character. His later years were spent in Chatauque Co., without any

[1] Christian Leader, May 26, 1881.

formal engagement as a clergyman, preaching occasionally, but devoting himself more immediately to the practice of medicine. He died somewhere in the West.

Mr. Thompson was a convert from the Methodists, but whether preacher or layman is unknown. He proved inefficient and unworthy, and soon ceased to preach. Mr. Smith says: —

"Without attempting to account for the fact, still it is so — that we received fewer intelligent and useful men in proportion to the number (for we had many), from the Methodists, than from any other sect. And out of *twenty* clergymen from different denominations who came to us — and who became useless or worse than useless in a few years — *fourteen* of them were from the Methodists. And what is no less remarkable, every one of them, though coming to us with the full fellowship of their former connexion — had lost either his influence, or character, or both, before his conversion. The standing of these men we could always ascertain *before* receiving them — but it was seldom possible to learn anything definite respecting their character or usefulness until *after* we had given them fellowship. It was in this way, that Universalists incurred much odium and reproach. The ministry, especially, suffered under the imputation of imbecility or corruption; when in truth, the charge lay at the door of those sects which wanted the courtesy or the candor to give us the information which we sought. Such was the process by which Universalists became a kind of 'scape goat' for the clerical indiscretions and worthlessness of several other denominations."[1]

Rev. Arthur Field was quite young, having only attained his majority; but he had during several years

[1] Historical Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 100, 101.

given all the powers of his excellent mind to the faith, love, and study of Universalism. His parents were attached to the Baptists, and, passionately bigoted, heaped upon him trials and abuses which few good sons are called to endure. But his heart was in the cause, and his mind was fully made up to live and to die in the ministry. His resolution and his filial respect so won the better judgment and love of his parents that after some few months both their hearts and their house were again open to their devoted and stricken son. "Mr. Field possessed great energy of character, joined with a very delicate and feeble constitution; and his mental efforts, and unwearied physical labor, proved too great for his strength. In the course of a little more than a year from the proper commencement of his ministry, he was seized with hemorrhage of the lungs, which, though he occasionally ventured to preach, strictly put an end to his pulpit labors." He died of consumption, July 14, 1824, strong in faith.

Early in the year 1820 Rev. Jabez Woodman became a Universalist, and began to preach Universalism. He was a native of New Gloucester, Maine, born April 20, 1776. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1803, and subsequently received from the same institution the degree of A.M. In November, 1808, he became a member of the Calvinistic Baptist Church in his native town, and about 1812 began to preach; but it does not appear that he was ever settled as pastor over any Baptist church. In April, 1820, the church took up a labor with Mr. Woodman, "to reclaim him from the Universal plan, which he had fallen into, and had for

some time past been preaching it in this and the neighboring towns, without informing the church of his change of sentiments, to the great grief of the church." May 6 the church "Voted, That he is no more of us." Mr. Woodman was a school-teacher several years, and held office in the town, almost uninterruptedly, from 1818 to 1839, besides representing the town in the Legislature one year. During these years, and as late as 1842, he was constantly engaged on the Sabbath at distances of forty or fifty miles from his home. He was ordained at Livermore, Me., June 28, 1827. His death occurred May 15, 1843. Just before his departure he declared his full belief in the doctrine of Universal Salvation which he had preached so long and so ably.

In the spring of 1820 Henry Fitz, who had been educated in the Calvinistic faith, but had become a Universalist under the preaching of Rev. John Murray and the reading of Rev. James Relly's works, commenced the publication of the "Gospel Herald" in the city of New York. In the first volume Trinitarian Universalism was advocated with much ability. In the second and all subsequent volumes, the final triumph of the gospel in all hearts was taught from the Unitarian standpoint.

"Mr. Fitz, though he never claimed to be a clergyman and never aspired to the consideration of the ministerial office, for several years preached whenever and wherever there was an opportunity. He was a clear thinker, a forcible speaker, and a terrible battle-axe when arrayed against the falsehoods and shams of the world — and withal a man of good spirit. Best of all, he was an up-

right man in his life, holding the truth in righteousness. He died of consumption, July 10, 1848." [1]

The General Convention held its session for 1820 at Claremont, N. H. The name of a new preacher — Rev. Joseph Butterfield — appears on the records as participating in the business of the session.

Mr. Butterfield — sometimes called Dr. Butterfield — was, it may be presumed, a physician. He came to us from the Baptists. His home was in Fryeburg, Me. He was an itinerant, and never, it is believed, a settled pastor. He is said to have been the first Universalist to visit the Province of New Brunswick for the purpose of preaching, and is described as "a kind, social man, rather pleasing in his address, and plain in his method as a preacher." [2]

Letters of Fellowship were granted to Hollis Samson, Asa Barton, Aaron Kinsman, Sylvanus Cobb, Asa Priest, John Brooks, and Michael Dwyer.

Rev. Hollis Samson began his professional career as a "Methodist preacher, in Windham Co. Ct., and in 1809 was licensed as a Congregationalist preacher, and was ordained at Eastford, Ct., Dec. 6, 1809. He was dismissed and deposed in 1816. He then went to Wilmington, Vt., and officiated as a Universalist minister." [3] Shortly after receiving fellowship by the Universalists he moved to Stafford, Genesee County, N. Y., where, according to Rev. N. Stacy, he was doing a good work in 1822. In 1830, as he had discontinued his labors in

[1] A Century of Universalism. By Abel C. Thomas, p. 272.
[2] Memoir of Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, D.D., p. 178, note.
[3] Dr. Davis's MSS., vol. ii. p. 143.

the ministry, fellowship was withdrawn from him by the Genesee Association.

Of Rev. Asa Barton we have no information, except that he had been a preacher among the Methodists, and that he was ordained at the session of the Eastern Association in Turner, Me., June 27, 1822.

Rev. Aaron Kinsman was present at the sessions in 1821, 1823, and 1825; but aside from this, we know nothing in regard to him.

Rev. Sylvanus Cobb was born in Norway, Me., July 17, 1798. His early education was in the district schools of that day. His home religious training was in the tenets of Calvinism, especially as held by the Baptists. The belief in a hell of literal flames was early fixed in his mind. When he was about sixteen years of age, and had listened to but few Universalist sermons, he became, by reading the Scriptures, as also by keen observation of the absurdities of the old creeds, a believer in the doctrine of Universal Salvation. After becoming of age, Mr. Cobb entered upon a course of academic studies at Paris Hill, Me. In the spring of 1820 he became a student of theology under Rev. Sebastian Streeter, then in Portsmouth, N. H., and shortly after, — "the second Sabbath in June" — preached his first sermon in his teacher's pulpit. He was ordained June 28, 1821, at the session of the Eastern Association, held in Winthrop, Me. Until July, 1821, Mr. Cobb's ministerial labors had been of an itinerant character, but at this time he became the pastor of the Universalist Society in Waterville, Me., where he continued about seven years. Here, in May, 1826, he organized the first church or body of communicants established among

Universalists in that State. His labors were also extensive in other parts of Maine, and many societies were established through his labors.[1]

In April, 1828, Mr. Cobb became pastor of the First Parish of Malden, Mass., where he remained nearly ten years. On the occasion of the annual Fast Day, April 7, 1831, he gave a discourse on temperance, taking the then novel ground of total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages. If not the pioneer in this advance movement, he was at least one of its earliest and most effective advocates. In August, 1836, he entered into an arrangement with the Middlesex County Temperance Society to become their lecturing agent "for a year, to devote an average of three days and evenings a week to the temperance cause and to lecture frequently on Sunday evenings." In this field he continued three years, in the last two giving nearly all his time to the work. He thus speaks of this employment: —

"The labors of these three years in the Agency of the Middlesex Temperance Society were enormous. The lectures were not little thirty minute essays. In that stage of the temperance reform, there were ignorance, and prejudice and hostility to be encountered; — and old customs of all classes, good, bad and indifferent, were to be revolutionized; and the necessary argument could not be compressed within a shorter space of time than an hour. Generally my lectures exceeded an hour and were of necessity uttered in what I felt, an earnest spirit. I circulated the pledge, the 'Teetotal' pledge, at the close of every lecture, and, in all, thousands of names were won, and many new societies were organized. I worked over even the old temperance societies, advancing them

[1] Memoir of Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, pp. 98–196.

from the partial pledge, discarding distilled spirits only, to the thorough pledge, discarding, as a beverage, all intoxicating liquors, distilled and fermented. And, besides my public lectures, I labored much in conversation with individuals at their homes. And I called upon most of the taverners, victuallers, and grocers in the county, and labored with them on the subject of their voluntary abandonment of the liquor-traffic. They treated me respectfully, and generally professed a desire to be rid of that branch of their business. 'But,' each one would say, 'if I refuse to supply my customers with liquor, and others around me sell it, my customers will go to others, not only for their liquor, but with all their custom; so that I shall suffer loss without any good result, as no less liquor will be sold. But prohibit the business by law, and it will be impartial; and will relieve me from liability to complaint from my customers.' But, when such just and impartial law obtained, it did not please them."[1]

In the anti-slavery field Mr. Cobb was equally conspicuous and active. In order that the Universalist denomination might have a more outspoken periodical on these great reform topics, he issued, in 1839, the first number of "The Christian Freeman and Family Visitor," a weekly paper, which he continued to edit and publish till 1862, when it was united with the "Trumpet and Universalist Magazine." He also contributed much on the anti-slavery question to the secular papers of Boston, and for some of his later efforts through these channels received the personal thanks of such leaders in the cause of universal freedom as Governor John A. Andrew, Senator Henry Wilson, General N. P. Banks,

[1] Memoir of Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, pp. 250, 251.

and others of like high standing. President Lincoln also addressed him a letter, "warmly thanking him for an able and masterly defence which he had made of the then contemplated Presidential policy of Emancipation." [1] There is no doubt that the efforts of Mr. Cobb contributed greatly to bringing the Universalist Church to the acceptance of the most advanced and pronounced views on the leading reforms of the age.

In addition to his editorial and other newspaper labors, Mr. Cobb busily employed his pen in enriching the church literature, — publishing several able books which we have not space to mention here, but the titles will be found in the appended Bibliography. He also fitted many young men for the ministry. At Waterville, Me., his students were: Zenas Thompson, Frederic A. Hodsdon and Alanson St. Clair. At Malden, N. C. Fletcher, Rufus K. Pope, John Harriman, J. W. Talbot, Charles Gallagher, Theodore K. Taylor, George Hastings, Charles S. Hussey, Elbridge Trull, Asa P. Cleverly, Abraham Norwood, Joseph O. Skinner, John Allen, Gilman Noyes, Horace W. Morse, Erasmus Manford, Joseph Grammar, — in all, twenty. "Some of these men, as should have been expected among so many," says Mr. Cobb, "after a brief experience in the work of the ministry, went into other honorable branches of business; others became able and popular, and most of them faithful and useful ministers of the gospel." [2]

In 1863, Tufts College, "in recognition of his high Christian character, sound Biblical Learning, and eminent services in behalf of the Church of Christ," con-

[1] Memoir of Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, p. 503.

[2] Ibid. pp. 273–274.

ferred on Mr. Cobb the degree of Doctor of Divinity. On the 31st of October, 1866, he passed into the land of the immortals.

Rev. Asa Priest was ordained at the session of the Northern Association at Whiting, Vt., Oct. 2, 1823. Where his ministry was spent, and how long it continued, we are not informed.

Rev. John Brooks was born in Worcester, Mass., Jan. 12, 1783, and was brought up in the strictest doctrines of Calvinism. Studying medicine with Dr. Kittredge, of Walpole, N. H., he commenced its practice in Newfane and Dummerston, Vt., at the age of 23. Joining the Presbyterian Church in Newfane, and his attention being directed to questions of religious doctrine, he made diligent search of the Scriptures, and was brought thereby to the belief of the final salvation of the world. At once, without relinquishing the practice of medicine, he entered upon the duties of a Christian minister. In 1822 he removed to Bernardston, Mass., and became the pastor of the Universalist Society there, preaching also in neighboring towns as opportunity offered. He was ordained at Bernardston, Oct. 7, 1823. After preaching a few years a difficulty in his throat compelled him to relinquish regular pulpit labors, and he gradually withdrew from the ministry. He was a man of mark among his fellows, and was held in high esteem by his fellow townsmen who elected him to the State Legislature for seven terms. "Till within a few years of his death he occupied a place in the choir, and nothing but absolute necessity could keep him from Church on the Sabbath. He died, as he had lived, in the faith of the gospel, falling sweetly and

gently to sleep on the Lord's day, — that day of all the week he loved best," Sept. 9, 1866.

We have no information concerning Rev. Michael Dwyer. Nor have we been able to ascertain anything in regard to Revs. Jervis Davis and Mark Stiles, fellowshipped by the Northern Association in 1820.

On the 10th of December, 1820, a young man who was destined to become eminent in the Universalist ministry, preached his first sermon, at Roxbury, Mass. This was Rev. Thomas Whittemore, who was ordained the following June. He was born on the 1st of January, 1800, and after serving an apprenticeship as a boot and shoe maker, he entered the study of Rev. Hosea Ballou to fit himself for the ministry. His first settlement was in Milford, Mass., where he remained a year, and then removed to Cambridgeport, which was his place of residence during the remainder of his life. Mr. Whittemore was a man of unflagging industry. Editor and proprietor of "The Trumpet and Universalist Magazine" for thirty-three years, author of some ten or more volumes of books and of scores of pamphlets, President of Cambridge Bank, President of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad, Representative in the Massachusetts Legislature, an ardent and ever-ready controversialist, his life was crowded with useful work, and his influence was for many years but little inferior to that of Rev. Hosea Ballou, for whom he cherished the deepest love and the most profound reverence. His "Modern History of Universalism" was a wonderful production for its day, and considering the disadvantages under which he labored; and its revision — only one volume of which he lived to perfect —

would have been his best legacy to the Church which he labored so diligently to establish and honor. In 1858 Tufts College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died on the 21st of March, 1861.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RESTORATIONIST CONTROVERSY.

1817–1841.

Sources of information. — The "Gospel Visitant." — Rev. Jacob Wood. — Letters between Rev. H. Ballou and Rev. Edward Turner. — Appearances of Doctrine of no Future Punishment. — Effect of the Letters on Mr. Ballou's thought. — Rev. Jacob Wood's Essay, and publication of the Opinions of Others. — Mr. Ballou's course in the "Universalist Magazine." — Controversy with the "Boston Kaleidoscope." — Mr. Foster's unwise Editorial Management of the "Universalist Magazine." — Newspaper Controversy on the subject of Future Punishment. — Rev. Jacob Wood's Proposal. — Rev. Hosea Ballou's Reply. — New Editors of the "Universalist Magazine." — Their Reply to Mr. Wood. — Mr. Wood's Rejoinder. — New Disputants. — Their Controversy closed. — Mr. Wood's new Proposals. — The Editor's Reply. — "The Declaration and Appeal." Rev. Hosea Ballou's Notice of it. — Reply to, by the Editors, written by Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d. — Mr. Turner's Text of a Settlement. — The Settlement abandoned. — Alleged Reasons therefor. — Mr. Ballou to Mr. Turner in regard to the Settlement. — Mr. Wood on the Personal Character of the Controversy. — Action of the Southern Association. — Personal Differences between Rev. Paul Dean and Rev. Hosea Ballou. — Rev. S. C. Loveland on the Action of the Southern Association. — Charges and Counter-charges at the Session of the General Convention. — Rev. Paul Dean resigns his Fellowship. — Rev. Edwin Ferriss withdraws from the Western Association. — Settlement between the Southern Association and the Revs. Edward Turner, Barzillai Streeter, and Charles Hudson. — Rev. Edward Turner on the Settlement. — Rev. H. Ballou's Letter to Rev. Edward Turner. — Rev. Messrs. Wood and Dean agree to the Settlement. — Rev. Paul Dean seeks and obtains Renewal of Fellowship. — Rev. Thomas Whittemore's Opposition thereto. — Rev. H. Ballou favors and urges it. — Scene at the Southern Association, Rev. Messrs. Ballou, Dean, and Wood in the Pulpit together. — The Controversy at an end in the "Universalist Magazine." — Books and Pamphlets issued. — Rev. Mr. Whittemore's Collection of Opinions on Future

PUNISHMENT IN "THE MODERN HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM." — ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVIDENCE ASSOCIATION. — REV. DAVID PICKERING RESIGNS HIS MEMBERSHIP IN THE GENERAL CONVENTION AND ASSOCIATIONS. — RESOLUTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION ON THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVIDENCE ASSOCIATION. — RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION. — ORGANIZATION OF THE "MASSACHUSETTS ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSAL RESTORATIONISTS." — REV. ADIN BALLOU AND THE "INDEPENDENT MESSENGER." — NEWSPAPER CONTROVERSY. — REV. SETH CHANDLER. — MEETINGS OF THE RESTORATIONIST ASSOCIATION. — MINISTERS IN THE RESTORATIONIST MOVEMENT. — RESTORATIONIST STRENGTH REMAINING IN THE UNIVERSALIST DENOMINATION. — THE SECESSION CONFINED TO MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND. — REV. ADIN BALLOU ON THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN REV. THOMAS WHITTEMORE AND HIMSELF. — CAUSES OF THE SUSPENSION AND EXTINCTION OF THE RESTORATIONIST ASSOCIATION. — PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE DENOMINATION ON THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

AT this point it seems most fitting to introduce an account of the rise and progress of certain opinions and measures which produced the only division that has ever taken place among the Universalists of America. The active participants in the dispute have finished their earthly course, with only two or three exceptions. The following statement is not only based on the authorities cited in the text, but also on conversations with several of the leaders on both sides, and has the approval of the few active participants who are now living. It may be regarded, therefore, as a complete statement, and made without prejudice in favor or against either of the parties whose sayings and doings it attempts to describe.

The controversy in the Universalist Church, culminating in the secession of several of the preachers in 1831, and the organization by them of a "Restorationist Association," may be said to have had its beginning in 1817. "The Gospel Visitant," which, as we have stated in the narrative of denominational affairs in 1811, was that year published as the organ of the "Gloucester

Conference," and was discontinued at the close of the first volume, was revived by the publication of a second volume, in 1817, by Rev. Messrs. Edward Turner and Hosea Ballou. Mr. Turner was at that time a resident of Charlestown, and Mr. Ballou of Salem. Rev. Jacob Wood, it is alleged, visited Mr. Ballou about the time that this publication was resumed, and represented that Mr. Turner was anxious to discuss with Mr. Ballou the question of future punishment, and suggested that Mr. Ballou write to Mr. Turner on the subject. Mr. Ballou wrote, and Mr. Wood was the bearer of the following: —

Dear Brother, — The question whether the doctrine of a future state of punishment be a doctrine taught in the Scriptures, is proposed for candid discussion.

That this subject is of a magnitude justly to claim the serious attention and impartial examination of the believer in divine revelation, no doubt can be entertained; however scruples may be entertained respecting the most eligible method for the conducting of such an enquiry.

No doubt considerable success might attend the well-directed researches of an individual unassisted by a fellow-laborer; but as the human mind, never becomes acquainted with its own resources until opposition and difficulties call them into action, it is believed that in the proposed investigation "two are better than one."

Though at first thought it might seem that the two who are to conduct this investigation, should be of opposite sentiments on the subject to be argued, on more mature consideration a thought suggests itself, that the enquiry would be more likely to be kept free from improper warmth or injudicious zeal, were the parties of the same opinion, than if they were of opposite sentiments.

Another circumstance which could not fail greatly

to favor the contemplated attempt, would be realized in a long habitual attachment reciprocated between the parties, together with their union of sentiment on the general system of the gospel.

Not only to ourselves might the proposed enquiry result in useful acquirements, but even to others, for whom we live, and for whom we delight to labor.

Should the foregoing suggestions have the weight in your mind as they bear in mine, you have the privilege of choosing the side of the proposed question that you should prefer to vindicate, and come as directly to the merits of the argument as you think proper, and leave the other to be vindicated by me.

Yours affectionately, HOSEA BALLOU.

In reply Mr. Turner wrote: —

"I received by Brother W. your proposal for a friendly investigation of the subject of a future punishment. I am pleased that you have made such a proposal, not because I think myself so adequate to conduct my part of the enquiry as many others, but because I wish to inform myself more of the real state of the question than I think I now know, or *can* know without some efforts at enquiry. I shall avail myself of your offer in selecting the side which I mean to support. I will frankly acknowledge that I have ever been inclined more to the doctrine of a future punishment, than to the opposite idea; hence, as I shall not succeed *very* well as an argumentator in any way, and wishing to do as well as possible, I shall endeavor to prove that there is a balance of evidence for believing in a future state of punishment; upon the presumption that I shall answer my own mind *best*, on the point to which I am most inclined."

Mr. Ballou, after expressing his satisfaction that the proposal, "growing entirely from necessity, and not

from any wish to employ my time in unprofitable disputation," had been accepted, added: —

"I am equally as well satisfied with the part your selection has allotted me, as I should have been had your choice been different, feeling a determination to pursue the enquiry with reference to nothing but the result of candid reasoning, dictated and sanctioned by the divine testimony."

The above, and three other letters on the subject, were published in the "Visitant" for July, and may be said to have been the first attempt to discuss the subject among Universalists. By reference to this work (vol. i., pp. 337, 348, 389, 409, 412) it will be seen that the doctrine of no future punishment was preached by some among us as early as 1790, that it was controverted by the Philadelphia Convention, severely criticised by Mr. Murray, and boldly advocated by Abel Sarjent. Mr. Whittemore, in his second volume of the "Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou," p. 28, states that the doctrine "began to excite a little attention, perhaps in 1814, or 1815;" and Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, speaks of its having been combated by Rev. Jacob Wood in 1816, at which time "he persuaded one of the Universalist ministers to believe that it was necessary that the Convention should take a decided stand in favor of the doctrine of future punishment." [1] It is true, however, notwithstanding these facts, that no formal discussion of the subject had taken place. And it may be added, we think, that no general interest in the subject had been manifested.

Rev. Hosea Ballou, senior, — as will be seen in the

[1] Universalist Magazine, vol. iv. p. 126.

first chapter of this volume, — had, on the publication of his "Treatise on Atonement," in 1805, announced his belief that "if any suffered in the future state, it would be because they would be sinful in that state," and not because of sins committed by them while in the flesh; but in 1811 — as we have shown under that date — he avowed, in the first volume of the "Christian Visitant," in his article on Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison (1 Peter iii. 18, 19), his belief in punishment beyond this life for sins which had been committed on the earth.

In 1829, in answer to the question, "What was the progress of your mind in regard to the doctrine of punishment in the future state?" Mr. Ballou said: —

"I never made the question a subject of close investigation until lately. When I wrote my 'Notes on the Parables,' and my 'Treatise on Atonement,' I had travelled, in my mind, away from penal sufferings, so entirely, that I was satisfied that if any suffered in the future state, it would be because they would be sinful in that state. But I cannot say that I was fully satisfied that the Bible taught no punishment in the future world, until I obtained this satisfaction by attending to the subject with Br. Edward Turner, then of Charlestown. For the purpose of satisfying ourselves respecting the doctrine of the Scriptures, on this question, we agreed to do the best we could, — he in favor of future punishment, and I the contrary. Our investigations were published in a periodical called the 'Gospel Visitant.' While attending to this correspondence, I became entirely satisfied, that the Scriptures begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood; and that beyond this mortal existence the Bible teaches no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality. When I

sat down to reply to Br. Turner, who urged the passage in Peter, respecting the spirits in prison, I knew not by what means I could explain the text without allowing it to favor the doctrine of future sufferings. I had, at that time, no knowledge of any translation of the text, but the one in our common version. But, on reading the whole subject in connection, the light broke in on my mind, and I was satisfied that Peter alluded to the Gentiles by spirits in prison, which made the passage agree with Isaiah 42d."[1]

These facts in regard to Mr. Ballou's opinions, and the declaration of Mr. Turner that he enters into the discussion because he wishes to inform himself "more of the real state of the question than I think I now know, or *can* know without some efforts at enquiry," coupled with the acknowledged fact that Mr. Ballou and Mr. Turner were the leading thinkers and writers, as well as preachers, at that time, renders it very certain that these differences of opinion had neither been the subject of controversy nor of solicitude in the denomination before this discussion in the "Gospel Visitant" began.

The discussion was commenced in the July number of the "Visitant," and was resumed in the following number, issued in October. Meanwhile, in September, Rev. Jacob Wood published a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, entitled "A Brief Essay on the Doctrine of Future Retribution," in which he combated with ingenuity and fairness the two opposite dogmas of endless punishment, and no future punishment, and

[1] Modern History of Universalism, by Rev. Thomas Whittemore, pp. 437, 438.

advocated a limited punishment for sin beyond the grave. After quoting from Relly and Chauncey two sharp and bitter statements to the effect that the doctrine of no future punishment gives "encouragement to sin," Mr. Wood added: —

"I will not call those who believe in this system '*stupid animals*,' and 'regret the time spent in writing to them,' as a modern Universalian writer has,[1] but I really think the opinion very erroneous. The many gross absurdities to which the doctrine of immediate universal salvation is liable, and the vicious effects which it is calculated to produce, render it a doctrine justly deserving of disapprobation and contempt."

This language roused bitter feelings in the minds of the believers in no future punishment, and was characterized in 1823, by Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, who was a believer in future punishment, as "harshness."[2] And he pertinently asked, "Who can produce so severe and contemptuous an expression as this in all that has been written *against* future punishment?" Unfortunately it was afterwards imitated by several writers on both sides of the controversy, who strangely mistook invective for rational criticism.

There was added to the "Essay" "An Appendix, containing extracts of Letters from most of the Principal Universalian Ministers in New-England on the Subject of Future Misery." The extracts were prefaced with this statement: —

"Being sensible that the publick in general, are under a wrong impression in respect to the opinions of that

[1] Rev. Dan Foster, in his Examination of Strong, p. 241.

[2] Universalist Magazine, vol. iv. p. 126.

body of clergy in New-England denominated *Universalist*, the writer has possessed himself of certain information on the subject, which is now submitted to their examination. They are further apprized, that the writer has received letters from most all the ministers of this order; and their sentiments agree, with but a *very few* exceptions, with the following, which are published as specimens."

The extracts were from letters by Rev. Messrs. Edward Turner, Thomas Jones, Sebastian Streeter, Paul Dean, Samuel C. Loveland, David Pickering, James Babbit, Hosea Ballou, 2d, Jonathan Wallace, Robert Bartlett, and Russell Streeter; and "were published," said Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, "without the knowledge of the writers," except "Messrs. Turner and Dean, who had written their own letters for publication in" the pamphlet.[1] It is a confirmation of what we have previously said concerning the fact that no general interest had heretofore been taken in this question, and no division had occurred in consequence of differences of opinion concerning it, that we read in the extract from Rev. Russell Streeter's letter: "The sentiment of future punishment is unquestionably believed by far the greater part of our brethren in the ministry, in New-England, though, as you justly observe, *you* and *I* stand almost alone in publickly avowing it."

We have no knowledge that the discussion went any farther at this time. On the issue of the "Universalist Magazine" in 1819, edited by Rev. Hosea Ballou, whose opinions in regard to no future punishment had become

[1] Universalist Magazine, vol. iv. p. 126.

settled, as he has told us, in 1817–18, it was expected by some who sympathized with him that he would give prominence to the inculcation of these peculiar views through the medium of this new periodical; but their expectations were not realized; "he was more reserved than some desired him to be."[1] The editor of "The Boston Kaleidoscope," in his paper, July 10, 1819, — one week after the first issue of the "Universalist Magazine," — made an attack on Universalism, propounding four questions, to which he solicited answers. One of the questions was so framed as to involve in its consideration the doctrine of no future punishment. The editor of "The Kaleidoscope" was a Unitarian; and on the 17th of July he issued an address "To the Public," in which he announced that the first page of his paper would, in future, be devoted to the explaining and defending of "what is now called rational and liberal Christianity, as distinguished from Roman Catholicism, Calvinism, Hopkinsianism, Universalism, and Deism." Mr. Ballou's answers to the four questions were courteous, moderate, and yet unambiguous; in no sense offensive. His treatment of the proposed defence of "rational and liberal Christianity" was thorough and manly. He would be ready, he said, to abandon Universalism when it should be shown to be either unreasonable or illiberal, and he desired the editor of "The Kaleidoscope" to show, if he could, anything that was more "liberal and rational than Universalism." The controversy continued about three months, and the mild and considerate manner in which Mr. Ballou conducted his part

[1] Whittemore's Life of Ballou, vol. ii. p. 72.

of it will be manifest from a remark made by the editor of "The Kaleidoscope," in August, that he had "not yet been able to understand, whether" Mr. Ballou "believes in any future punishment, or none at all." And he added: "If he merely believes the '*final restoration*,' so called, he stands on very different ground from what we have supposed. Till this point is ascertained, we deem it useless, if not worse, to continue the controversy. If not inconsistent with his views and feelings, we respectfully request him to inform us and the publick on this point." Mr. Ballou's reply is given nearly at length, as indicating the manner and spirit in which he conducted his part of the discussion:—

"There seems to appear some strong intimations in what he has here stated, that he has no objection to the doctrine of the salvation of all men finally if a future punishment be allowed for a time. He says, 'If he *merely* believes the final restoration.' This form of expression would indicate that he has no particular objections to make if this be the doctrine. Well, we will receive him on this ground with all cordiality. If he will allow that all mankind shall finally be reconciled to God, love and enjoy him through the power of his grace revealed in him who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time, we will not disagree about the times and seasons which God holds in his own power, nor will we disagree on the quantity or duration of that chastisement which our heavenly Father may administer for the sinner's profit.

"But he says, if we allow any future punishment we stand on 'very different ground' from what he expected. We will endeavor to show him and our readers, that the *ground* or *principle* is the same in both cases. That is, the Universalist who believes that this mortal state, in

flesh and blood, is the only state of sin and misery, stands on the same principle as does his brother, who believes that there may be a future state of discipline which will eventuate in bringing all sinners to a state of holiness and happiness.

"Neither difference respecting the time when the creature is to be made happy, nor the particular means by which this event is brought about, makes the least difference in *principle*. Two brothers, sons of the same father, may perfectly agree in their sentiments respecting their parent. They both believe that he will not fail to give them all the instruction they need, that his discipline over them is all designed for their benefit; and yet they may entertain different views respecting time and means. One may think that they are to be kept at school until they are eighteen, the other may be of the mind that they are to be continued under tutors and governors a year longer, yet both believe that their father knows best and will order their concerns according to his own wisdom and goodness. He who believes that all sufferings end with this mortal state, and he who believes that they end at the expiration of any other period, differ only as it respects time, not as it respects principle, for both believe that all discipline is for the good of the punished, and therefore the sentiment is the same.

"But the editor of the Kaleidoscope thinks it may be worse than useless 'to continue the controversy,' until we decide the question whether we believe in future punishment, or not. But why should this be the case? Our controversy is not concerning the question which he here states; we may say with propriety, that this question has no immediate concern with the subject of our controversy. He had promised to explain and defend 'rational and liberal Christianity,' as distinguished from Universalism; and we have endeavored to keep him to

his promise, but we do not succeed; and we think his sagacity has made the discovery that we were right in our opinion that he never would fulfil his promise.

"On a subject so vast, of such infinite importance as the one embraced in his promise, to discover any desire to avoid coming directly to the main question, in the most direct manner for decision, is a defect of such a character as gives us very disagreeable sensations. What has he answered to the numerous arguments which we have brought to disprove his statements? Nothing. What has he even pretended to say against Universal salvation, that we have not fully refuted? Nothing. What next? A new question is started. Do we believe in future punishment, or not? Why does not our friend act on the noble principle which would lead him to say, I cannot prove either by Bible or reason that all men may not finally be saved, but I think that future limited punishment may be supported. Then if we disagreed at all, it would not be on principle, it would only be concerning *times, ways and means.*

. . . "But after all, will it do to answer the question? There would be no danger, if we could say, we believe in a state of future punishment; that is, if no one would call on us to prove it from the scriptures. But there lies the difficulty. We are sensible we cannot prove that sin and misery will exist in a future state of being."[1]

Later in the first volume of the "Magazine," Mr. Ballou, in response to a request for an exposition of the passage in relation to Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison, republished the letter which originally appeared in "The Gospel Visitant," in connection with his debate with Mr. Turner. In the second volume,

[1] Universalist Magazine, vol. i. p. 31.

March 24, 1821, a "Compendium" of a sermon preached by Mr. Ballou is published, in which are less than twenty lines on the subject of no future punishment. These, we believe, are the only instances in the first two volumes of the "Magazine" where Mr. Ballou advocates his peculiar views of this controverted subject.

At the close of the second volume, Mr. Ballou found his health and strength unequal to the extra labor which the editing of the "Magazine" imposed on him, and withdrew from the editorial charge of the paper. Mr. Bowen still remained the publisher, "and the paper was then very unwisely put into the hands of an individual by the name of Foster, who had been improperly recommended to Mr. Bowen; for he was utterly ignorant of Universalism, and every other kind of theology, and unfit, in every respect, for such a post."[1]

The first number of the "Magazine" issued by Mr. Foster contained a brief article against future punishment, signed "Ear," the true name of the author being a transposition of these letters, — Rae. This was answered in the following issue of the paper by Rev. Edward Turner over the signature "Stator." "Ear" sent an answer to "Stator," but the editor said: "As we think it will lead to a controversy, which may not be very profitable to our readers, we must decline publishing it." In the next number "Ear" complained of being shut out; and the editor responded that the rejected article was too long, and added: "Communications written in a style less *verbose*, would be more

[1] The Early Days of Thomas Whittemore, pp. 310, 311.

acceptable." Mr. Ballou published in the same number a "Reply to Stator," signing his initials, "H. B.," to the article. A few numbers later "Stator" furnished a brief article, in which he said: "The controversy lies between 'Ear' and me only. H. B. and myself are not before the public. I am willing, in a regular way, to meet his remarks; nay, if I know him, we have already written on this subject, even to verbosity."

Dr. Robert Capen, of Middleboro', Mass., also wrote in defence of no future punishment, over the signature "R. C****."

Several months elapsed before anything more of an especially controversial character appeared on the subject. The number for December 1 contained a brief article signed "Aesop," — Dr. John Brooks, — who was replied to by "Christian Universalist," — Rev. Paul Dean. Mr. Ballou soon after addressed a letter to "Philo Bereanus," — Mr. Enoch B. Kenrick, of Newton, — in review of a work which Mr. K. had recently published, entitled "Final Restoration demonstrated from the Scriptures of truth," etc., in which the doctrine of future punishment was advocated. This, in a few weeks, was replied to by "Reason," — Rev. Jacob Wood. The editor, over the signature of "Justitia," wrote in defence of future punishment. Mr. Kenrick, as "P—— B.," answered Mr. Ballou's letter; Mr. Ballou replied to "Reason;" and soon the paper was almost wholly given up to this subject by articles from these several writers.

On the 16th of March, 1822, Rev. Jacob Wood furnished an article to the public, through the columns of the "Universalist Magazine," signed "Restorationist," in

which, after reciting the fact that a difference of opinion existed among Universalists on the subject of future punishment, he made the following statement and proposal:

"Several controversial pieces have appeared in the Magazine on this subject, without, we think, giving much satisfaction to the public. One party calls upon the other to bring forward his proof that all misery ceases at temporal death, while the other rejoins in the same manner, without exhibiting any proof on either hand. We are desirous to have this controversy assume a different character. To avoid a desultory, promiscuous, newspaper dispute, I and my brethren, have thought of the following scheme, to propose to the unbelievers in future misery.

"1. That a brief statement of the evidence that all misery is confined to this life, be written by one who believes in that doctrine, and published in the Magazine, and that we will engage a similar communication in proof that misery will extend beyond death.[1]

"2. That both these communications shall be lodged in the hands of the Editor of the Magazine before either is published, so that no alterations may be made in them afterwards, by reference one to the other.

"3. That both these communications shall be submitted to the public to draw their own conclusions, without any controversial replies on either side.

"We think these terms are fair and equal on both sides of this controversy. If the advocates of the doctrine of *no* future misery are honorable and conscientious in their cause, they will be willing to meet us on this just and equal ground. And we hereby call on them to accept this invitation, and show the strength of their

"[1] It is understood that this evidence will be both positive and negative. That each party shall have right to anticipate the contrary arguments, and refute them."

cause. We are perfectly willing that the public should make their impartial decision on which side of the controversy lies the balance of proof. It is wished that the gentleman who shall accept this invitation, will be one who is qualified to do justice to his side of the question; and we hope that honor will restrain all others from interfering. The person who shall please to accept this invitation will have the goodness to signify it in the Magazine. If the invitation be accepted, the communication on our part shall be lodged in the Magazine Office within a month after the publication of such acceptance."

In the "Magazine" of the following week Mr. Ballou had the following note to the editor: —

"If 'Restorationist' will give his real name, and the names of the brethren who were with him in framing the proposals, which were published in your last paper, I will then assign my reasons for not accepting their proposals, and give them and the public to understand what I think of their suspending my *honor* and *sincerity* on the condition which they suggest."

Mr. Wood replied; Mr. Ballou put in a rejoinder; and other parties took up the discussion of the proposals both *pro* and *con*. On the 4th of May, Mr. Bowen announced that he had "engaged the Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Boston, the Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, of Roxbury, and the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, of Cambridgeport, to edit the paper in future." The following week an article from two of the editors appeared, addressed to "Restorationist," not on the subject which it had been proposed to discuss, but on his presentation of the proposals in the form in which they were phrased, and the accompanying statement to which Mr. Ballou had

objected; and the subsequent articles, accusing Mr. Ballou of "trifling," "cowardice," etc., because he would not write on the subject of no future punishment on the terms mentioned in the proposals. The article concluded thus: —

"And now, if we have made the least mistake or misrepresentation in any one of those three particulars we have named, we earnestly request Restorationist to show us wherein; if we have not, we must proceed to ask him to discontinue for the future all communications *on the subject of the proposals.*

"And we must also ask the same of all our correspondents, for the following reason: It can be of no service to the public to witness a dispute merely about the METHOD which Restorationist proposed, of managing the subject of future punishment.

"While we thus announce our resolution to exclude all communications concerning those proposals, we would state explicitly, to prevent misconstruction, that our columns will remain open, as heretofore, for the admission of communications on the doctrine of future punishment.

"As the senior Editor of the Magazine has been concerned in the controversy with 'Restorationist,' the subscribers consider it their duty to acknowledge themselves the authors of the foregoing remarks; and to hold themselves responsible for the resolution just announced."

"Restorationist" replied in a communication addressed to Hosea Ballou, 2d, and Thomas Whittemore, the substance of which was published; but the junior editors refused to "insert the communication, because it is addressed to us in a style which approaches too near that of mockery, to be received from any correspondent who does not give us his real name."

A few weeks prior to this — viz., on the 11th of May

— "J. B.*****" — Dr. John Brooks — addressed a letter through the "Magazine" to the "Rev. J. W.," — Jacob Wood, — in review of certain Restorationist, or future punishment, arguments employed by the latter in a sermon, a copy of which he had presented to Dr. Brooks. To this letter Mr. Wood replied, and a discussion of the general subject of future punishment was carried on by them in the columns of the "Magazine," each writing four letters on the question. Meanwhile, Rev. Hosea Ballou published four articles against the doctrine of future punishment; and one letter, in which he raised a few queries in regard to points touched upon by Messrs. Brooks and Wood, to which Mr. Brooks replied. "B. S*******" — Rev. Barzillai Streeter — published two communications containing inquiries suggested by the future-punishment side of the controversy, and was replied to by a writer who signed himself "W. D***," — perhaps Rev. William A. Drew. A writer over the signature of "Rationalis" answered some of the queries of Mr. Ballou; and "Richards" — Rev. Thomas Whittemore — put forth an article in favor of the doctrine of no future punishment.

In the "Magazine" for Dec. 21, 1822, the editors published the following notice: "To Readers and Correspondents: It has been thought proper, for sundry reasons, to close the controversies between J. B***** and J. W., and B. S******* and W. D***."

Another article from the pen of Rev. Jacob Wood, and certain editorial "Remarks" on it, should be inserted here, since they will be referred to in what will soon follow. The "Magazine" for July 27 contained the following: —

"Rev. Editors: I have been for some time a reader and supporter of your paper, and have observed with deep solicitude, the controversy which has been conducted in your columns, on the subject of future misery. I learn that there is difference of opinion on this subject, among those who are denominated Universalists. It appears that some believe in a disciplinary punishment beyond death, and others believe that all human misery is confined to this life. I must candidly confess, that I have hitherto been in favor of the former opinion; but if the contrary doctrine can be fairly proved from scripture, I would most heartily embrace it. It would therefore be gratifying to me, to see the subject investigated in a cool and logical manner. What I have hitherto seen written on the subject, does not appear to meet the real ground of controversy. The question, as I understand it, is, Whether all human misery is bounded by death? Now, in my apprehension, this question has not been directly discussed. To be sure, I have seen another question agitated, which is somewhat allied to it, viz. Whether *sin* will exist in a future state? But this does not meet the point at issue. For, if it cannot be proved that men will commit fresh actual sins in a future state, it will not, I think, follow of necessity, that they cannot be miserable. Whether men will, or will not, commit fresh actual sins in a future state, I think cannot be demonstrated by revelation. But, if it be conceded, that they will cease to be *actual* sinners, the conclusion does not appear logical to my mind, that the *very moment* they cease to be such, their misery will end. However, with our present imperfect knowledge of a future state, this inquiry, at best, is a matter of mere speculation. I cannot rest my faith on any conclusion drawn from such uncertain and indefinite premises.

"I should like to see the subject met in a direct form, and the evidence adduced to prove that all misery is

confined to this life. If any person will do this, I should be very grateful for his labors. If any one should attempt it, I hope it will be done with candor and fairness. I do not wish to be informed that sinners are punished, more or less, in this life, for this is manifest from scripture and experience. But I want the evidence that *all* misery is confined to this state of existence; or, that every sinner is adequately punished in this life for *every sin* which he commits. This is the just form of the inquiry. There is quite a difference between the two propositions, that vice is punished in this life, or the wicked are recompensed in the earth; and that *all misery* is confined to this life, or all sinners are punished adequately for every sin in this world. The former proposition may be proved, and the latter remain unproved.

"In answer to my inquiry, I do not expect to be turned off with the plea, that the scriptures are silent in favor of a future misery. This would be to no effect. I wish to see the evidence, if any there be in the Bible, to prove that *all* human suffering is restricted to this life.

"As I have a strong desire to see this doctrine proved true, I shall consider that person as one of my best friends, who shall succeed in doing it.

"LOVER OF TRUTH.

"Remarks: We think that on reconsidering the foregoing request, and taking into view all its bearings, our correspondent will perceive that it does not offer a proper and just ground of discussion. The request is, that the whole discussion on the doctrine of future misery, be decided on no other condition than this, viz. that it be proved, *positively* and *directly*, that all misery is confined to this life. This is, to say the least, throwing all the labor on one side; and that side, the one that is impeached; as though a Plaintiff, in a court of Justice, should require that the Defendant be acquitted on no other terms than by his positively and directly proving

himself innocent, without the Plaintiff's being at the trouble to support a charge against him.

"Nor is this all: our correspondent gives us to understand that should this request (so unreasonable, as it appears to us) be accepted, even then no proof must be drawn from the supposed fact that the scriptures say nothing in favor of future misery. It will be allowed as no proof. And again: he will not allow any proof to be drawn from the fact that the righteous are recompensed in this life, and that the wicked are also. Nor yet will he grant that any proof may be adduced from the statement that sin will not exist in a future state, allowing such statement to be true. With all deference, we would ask our correspondent whether these restrictions, connected with the peculiar principle of the request, do not preclude the possibility of a fair discussion? We will challenge any man, on this principle, and under these restrictions, to prove that the righteous themselves are not punished in a future state.

"Whatever may be our partiality, for or against the doctrine of future punishment, we hope it may not dictate or affect *these* remarks. It is due to pure justice, to remind our correspondent of a circumstance, the truth of which is well known to him, viz. the idea that there is no misery after death has been declared by almost all those brethren who have zealously opposed it, to be directly opposed to the holy scriptures; they have uniformly declared it to be exceedingly licentious in its influence; and some have pronounced it a denial of the Christian religion. Most certainly, those who make or advise to such declarations, owe it to God and to their brethren to come forward and prove them or renounce them. Now if our correspondent will state explicitly that he believes it to be neither a denial of the gospel, nor opposed to the scriptures, the proper ground of discussion between him and its advocates will be known.

"We cannot close, without commending the appearance of *coolness* and *dispassion* in the foregoing communication. Extending the Author's recommendation of candor and fairness to every class, we say *Amen* to it with all our hearts; and let all the people say *Amen*.

"EDITORS."

The editors of the "Magazine," when they gave notice that the controversy between Mr. Wood and Mr. Brooks, and Mr. Streeter and W. D***, must close, seem to have been aware that there had been a meeting of some of the Restorationist sympathizers at Mr. Wood's residence in Shirley, Mass., in September, and that in November an article accusing them of unfairness had been sent to the "Christian Repository," published at Woodstock, Vt., for publication. In the December issue of the "Repository" the following appeared: —

"AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC.

"It has sometime been a fact of notoriety, that a difference of sentiment exists among those who are denominated Universalists, in the United States, on the subject of a future retribution. One party believe, that all human suffering is bounded by death, and the other, that it extends beyond death. Notwithstanding this difference, it has generally been thought to be for the interest of the common cause, to remain as one body, and concentrate their influence and exertions against the popular error of endless misery. But, at length, this difference of sentiment began to wear a more alarming and imposing aspect. The party who hold that all misery is confined to this life, seemed to attach a greater importance to their peculiar sentiment, and were wont to dwell upon it in their public discourses, and this too, on conventional occasions, and when they exchanged desks

with their brethren who differed from them on this subject. At last a controversy broke out in several periodical works, edited by Universalists. In the Boston Universalist Magazine, in particular, the contest was something serious, and bid fair, as was thought by many, to terminate in bitterness and animosity. Seeing this disagreeable indication of things, the writer of this appeal associated with some of his ministering brethren, who agree with him in the belief of a future disciplinary punishment, and resolved on a method, which was thought probable to put an end to the controversy, and preserve peace and harmony in the order. It was agreed that the writer of this appeal should write and publish in the Universalist Magazine certain proposals, whereby, if they were accepted by the other party, the controversy might be brought to a speedy and amicable termination. This scheme was soon put into effect, and the following terms, under the signature of '*Restorationist*,' were published in the Magazine, for March 16th, 1822, viz.

"'1. That a brief statement of the evidence that all misery is confined to this life, be written by one who believes in that doctrine, and published in the Magazine, and that we will engage a similar communication in proof that misery will extend beyond death.[1]

"'2. That both these communications shall be lodged in the hands of the Editor of the Magazine before either is published, so that no alterations may be made in them afterwards, by reference one to the other.

"'3. That both these communications shall be submitted to the public to draw their own conclusions, without any controversial replies on either side.'

"On the appearance of these proposals in the Magazine, a quite spirited contest arose about the nature and

"[1] 'It is understood that this evidence will be both positive and negative. That is, each party shall have a right to anticipate the contrary arguments, and refute them.'"

design of them. Several writers engaged in the dispute, and it was finally closed by an editorial edict, giving the last word to their own party, when two communications were in their office from 'Restorationist!' Thus ended the attempt of 'Restorationist and his brethren,' to check the increasing discord, arising from a promiscuous and perpetual controversy, and to preserve the union and peace of our order.

"Finding that the whole scheme respecting the proposals, had gone over, and that the other party were determined to keep alive the controversy, 'Restorationist' assumed a different signature, (Lover of Truth) and wrote a communication for the Magazine, containing a request for some person who believed that all misery is bounded by death, to bring forward the proof for his faith. This communication was put under the editorial head, and footed by remarks from the Editors. In these remarks, the Editors complained of what they called 'restrictions' of the subject, given by 'Lover of Truth;' that is, certain modes of argument which they were in the habit of employing, and which he thought were foreign to the question. 'Lover of Truth' then wrote an answer to these remarks, of which the following is a just duplicate.

"'Rev. Editors, — I did not anticipate that my communication would have received an editorial review before it was properly laid before the public. Altho it was addressed to you, as editors, I concluded that it would be left, as most communications of that nature have been, to the consideration of correspondents in future Nos. of the paper. However, I do not know as I have any cause to complain in this case, as I have now engaged the united talents of *three* gentlemen who, on all hands, will be acknowledged competent to give satisfaction (if any men can) in the case depending.

"'I deeply regret, Gentlemen, that my request is

thought by you to be *unreasonable*, as, on this account, I am not likely to obtain any help on the subject which I so much desired. But why is my request unreasonable? Is it unreasonable for me to ask a person the reasons for his faith? There are those who declare that they believe, that all human sufferings are confined to this life. Now, it is certainly to be presumed, that those persons have some arguments to support their hypothesis; and, if they have such, why is it unreasonable to request them to bring them forward? It appears to me, Gentlemen, that you have not properly understood my request. I did not ask you or any other person, to bring forward *positive* proof that all misery is confined to this life. My wish was that the subject might be met in a direct form, and such arguments or reasons as might be thought pertinent, adduced to support the above mentioned doctrine. You say, that this is "throwing all the labor on one side." By this expression it would seem as tho I had proposed a controversy, which, in fact, was foreign from my intention. I simply requested that some person who believes that all misery is confined to this life, should adduce his evidence to support his faith. This is all the labor which I have thrown upon any man, and it is presumed that this labor will not be esteemed *grievous* to any person who is desirous of instructing his fellow creatures. After this explanation of my design, you will perceive, Gentlemen, that your reference to the rules of judicature is inapplicable to the subject.

"'You seem to find considerable fault with my restrictions of the question, but it does not appear to me that you have any reason for doing thus. I have given no restrictions only such as appeared to my mind essential to the subject. I do not (now) wish to know whether the Bible is silent about a future misery, whether *sin* will exist in a future state, nor whether vice is punished in this life. For any thing that appears to my mind to

the contrary, the first and last of these questions may be taken in the affirmative, and the second in the negative, and yet the question, Whether *all* misery is confined to this life, will remain undecided. On this subject I was sufficiently explicit in my last. What I request, is, to see the evidence that *all* human misery is bounded by temporal death.

"'I am perfectly willing to remove all restrictions, and you may take the question in an unqualified state. If you can make it appear that the Bible is *silent* in favor of a future misery, that *sin* will not exist beyond death, and that it will thence necessarily follow that men *cannot* suffer in that state, and that *every sinner* is adequately punished in this life, for *every sin* which he commits; if, I say, you can make these things appear, you may make such use of them in the sum of argument, as you think proper.

"'As to your suggestions about what the believers in future punishment say against the doctrine of *no* future misery, I do not conceive that it has anything to do with our present subject. You call upon me to declare, whether I think that the doctrine that all misery is bounded by death, is a denial of the gospel, or opposed to the scriptures. You will have the goodness, Gentlemen, to permit me to suspend my answer to this until I see how you succeed in proving the doctrine by the Bible.

"'Gentlemen, I trust you will believe me, when I say, that I am really happy that you have embarked in my inquiry, and considering your reputed talents, I cannot but flatter myself that the satisfaction which you will be enabled to give me on the subject, will oblige me to rank you among my best friends.

"'LOVER OF TRUTH.'

"This communication was forwarded to the Magazine office, and in about a fortnight afterwards, an editorial

edict came out, prohibiting all communications of that nature in their paper! Thus it was suppressed, and the last word again secured to their own party.

"A few remarks and the subject shall be submitted.

"The Universalist Magazine was instituted and has been supported, as a paper professedly impartial among Universalists. Its columns have always been announced as open to free inquiry and discussion. But in what light it is now to be considered, is left for the candid to judge. What different treatment could 'Restorationist and his brethren' have expected, if the paper were a professed party engine, than what they have received?

"Again, the public will judge which party have manifested the strongest desire for a state of union and peace; which have shown the most conciliating spirit. If the proposals had been accepted by that party, it would probably have silenced all contention, and preserved the peace and tranquillity of our order. It was not because we were afraid to meet them in direct controversy, or because we feared the arguments or talents on that side of the question, that we made the proposals; but to stop the flame which was kindling, and thus prevent a general conflagration. But we fear our object has gone over. But be it ever remembered, and I appeal to the foregoing facts to substantiate my assertion, that, if a separation be the final result, *we* did not seek it, and *they* must be considered as its legitimate authors.

"RESTORATIONIST."

The editor of the "Repository," Rev. S. C. Loveland, appended the following: —

"It is under circumstances somewhat peculiar that I am disposed to admit a subject of so personal a nature, as this between 'Restorationist' and the Editors of the Universalist Magazine. It is a subject before anticipated

by them, as appears by a private letter from one of the Editors. And they are hereby informed that any reasonable liberty, in correcting what they conceive to be erroneous, or misrepresented, will be granted them in the columns of the Christian Repository. For my own part, I conceive, it is better to open and investigate a difficulty, than attempt to smother what has already reached the public ear. If 'Restorationist' has undertaken publicly to abuse a number of his brethren, let it be known, that he may be ashamed; but if they have exercised toward him and others an *overbearing* or *improper* spirit, defence is certainly their due. As it respects this subject, I consider myself under no responsibility. As it respects the subject of future punishment, my sentiments are well known, and if they are such as some of my brethren despise, I can no more come to them than they to me. It is humbly hoped, the spirit of mutual love and forbearance may yet be exercised among us, which shall enable us to repeat the words of the Lord Jesus with pleasure, 'Hereby shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.'"

Following the "Appeal" was the following "Declaration:" —

"TO THE WORLD.

"The writer of this, and several of his brethren, who agree with him in opinion, have long viewed, with deep regret, the *modern corruption* of the genuine doctrine of *the restoration of all men*, and this corruption appearing to be seated and growing among the order of Universalists in the United States, and believing that it is a great hindrance to the reception and spread of the truth, as well as detrimental to the morals of community, consider it as a duty which they owe to God, their own consciences, and their fellow-creatures, to publish to the world the following declaration.

"1. 'That, in our opinion, the doctrine of universal salvation, at the commencement of a future state, and that of the final restoration of all men by Jesus Christ, through faith and repentance, are distinct and different doctrines, and are incapable of being reconciled together.

"2. 'That we consider the former doctrine to be subversive of a just sense of our accountability to God, and the proper distinction between virtue and vice, and, consequently, lessens the motives to virtue, and gives force to the temptations of sin.'

"*Explanatory Remarks.*

"The first article supposes a difference between the two systems in the *method* or *means* of salvation. The principle on which the doctrine of immediate universal salvation is founded, as far as we can learn from its advocates, is the native and essentially immaculate nature of the soul. The suffering of the soul wholly arises and is dependent on its *union* with its present body, and when that is dislodged, it is, of its essential nature, free from all pollution and suffering. This is no new theory, as it was embraced by many ancient heathen philosophers. Now, it requires no great capacity to perceive, that this doctrine sets aside the scheme of salvation by *Christ.* I here speak of our eternal salvation after death. Christ may, to be sure, be the means of doing considerable good to a number of mankind in this world, by his instructions, &c. but, as it respects their future state, his office, as a Mediator, has no relation. They are necessarily happy from their very nature. In our opinion, therefore, this doctrine sets aside the great scheme of salvation by Christ.

"It is also easy to be seen, that this doctrine leaves out the means of *faith* and *repentance,* as requisites for the possession and enjoyment of salvation. Those who

die impenitent are immediately introduced into a state of perfect happiness and glory, not because they were previously prepared by the exercise of faith and repentance, but from the very nature of their existence, which will not admit any suffering. To talk of their exercising faith and repentance after death, and when they have come into the actual possession of their native glory, would be altogether absurd, as well as tacitly to give up the principle on which their salvation is predicated.

"I need not here add, that the Bible knows of no method of salvation only by *Christ*, and through the means of *faith* and *repentance*. This is *our* only ground and hope of salvation. Hence the conclusion, that the doctrine of immediate universal salvation, and that which *we* advocate, are distinct systems, and incapable of being reconciled together.

"The second article is expressive of *our* opinion of the doctrine of immediate universal salvation. *We* believe that mankind are accountable to God for all their actions, and will be punished for all those which are sinful, here or hereafter. We believe that this fact is demonstrated by the Bible and universal experience. Now, the above stated doctrine we conceive to be inconsistent with this. By *that* we are taught, that men who die in the actual perpetration of crimes, immediately enter a state of absolute happiness, and, consequently, they are not rendered accountable, at least for *all* their sins. If they are punished for their sins, *generally*, through life, they are not punished for the *last*. Thus we think that this doctrine is subversive of a *just* sense of our accountability to God.

"The proper distinction between virtue and vice, consists in a just reward of the one and the punishment of the other. This retribution, at least, in many cases, as we have seen, does not take place in this world. Therefore, the doctrine in question, which admits all charac-

ters alike to heaven, at death, is subversive of a just distinction between virtue and vice.

"That this doctrine lessens the motives to virtue, is very apparent. For, on *our* scheme, virtue not only has the promise of all the pleasure which attends the way of well-doing here, but distinguished rewards beyond death. There can be no question, therefore, but that the motives to virtue are much greater and stronger on *our* scheme, than on that which teaches, that all the reward of virtue is limited to this life.

"That the doctrine of immediate universal salvation gives force to the temptations of sin, we think is evident from a moment's reflection. The robber may go forth in his wicked designs of plunder and murder, and rest assured that, if he loses his life in one of his adventures, he shall immediately be beyond the reach of all punishment, and enjoy perfect happiness. The man in trouble may end his sorrows by suicide, and instantly reach the pure abodes of heavenly felicity. If it be not certain that such a doctrine as this, gives force to the temptations of sin, there is no moral certainty upon any subject whatever.

"These brief remarks are no more than what the explanation of our declaration required, and with these we are willing to submit it to an impartial public. But, if it be necessary, we are willing to go further in our justification. If this should be attacked in any public journals, we shall expect the Editors of such journals will have the politeness to offer their columns for its defence.

"We make this solemn declaration of our views in the fear of God, and with a humble hope that it may subserve the interest of truth.

"Signed, by the request and in behalf of others,

"Jacob Wood.

"P. S. The respective editors of the 'Universalist Magazine,' 'Christian Intelligencer,' and 'Religious

Inquirer,' are requested to insert the above in their periodical works. J. W."

The editors of the "Universalist Magazine" gave the foregoing an insertion in their paper, Jan. 25, 1823, prefaced with the following from the pen of Rev. Hosea Ballou: —

"By presenting the following Appeal and Statement of Faith, found in the 'Christian Repository' for December last, to our readers, we comply with the request of those who framed them. We are authorized to state, that they are the result of the advice and counsel of the following ministering brethren, who belong to and stand in fellowship with the General Convention of Universalists; viz. Rev. Jacob Wood, Rev. Edward Turner, Rev. Paul Dean, Rev. Barzillai Streeter, Rev. Charles Hudson, and Rev. Levi Briggs.

"Christian brethren, it is a most painful, heart-agonizing task to put into your hands what we know must produce in you surprise and grief of no ordinary character; but you are assured that this *gall and wormwood* has for years been tasted by those who saw the first germ of this *root of bitterness.* Yes, the shade of many a night has witnessed the anguish which preyed on the heart of him who writes this notice, and his pillow has received the tears of grief occasioned by the increasing symptoms which portended the unhappy schism which is now made manifest to the public. We expect the daughters of the uncircumcised will triumph; but what is this in comparison with those inward sighs, which force our tears on the defection of those we love? Let us, with confidence, rely on Him whose invisible hand worketh all things after the counsel of his own will — and in our hearts say, 'Not our will, but thine, O God, be done.'"

In the next issue of the "Magazine" the following reply appeared, from the pen of Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d: —

"In last week's Magazine we republished, from the 'Christian Repository,' 'An Appeal to the Public,' signed 'Restorationist;' and a Declaration (as we shall call it), signed 'Jacob Wood,' in behalf of others.

"It is now about seven weeks since those pieces were first published. In the mean time, we have labored with our brethren who were the authors, for the purpose of persuading them to recall their publication; but to no avail. We now submit to the alternative of publicly disproving their representation and exposing the real character of their procedure, in preference to permitting it to stand uncontradicted before the world, alienating the hearts of brethren, and exciting suspicion and discord.

"It may be proper to lay open the mystery which at first hung over the origin of those two pieces.

"Altho one of them represented us to the public as fomenters of discord among the brethren, we were left without any certain knowledge who the *authors* were, till about three weeks after the publication. Finding that we waited in vain for the authors to avow themselves to us, we sent to Br. Dean, whom we suspected to be one of them, requesting him to inform us whether he was one, and to state who the others were, if he knew. He refused to give us any information in reply, unless we would first agree to terms of secrecy. We then sent the same request to Br. Edward Turner, of Charlestown; who frankly informed us, in answer, that he and Brs. Jacob Wood, of Shrewsbury, Paul Dean, of Boston, Barzillai Streeter, of Salem, Levi Briggs,[1] of Westminster, and Charles Hudson, of Preston, Con. were the authors.

[1] "Since writing this, we have received a letter from Br. Briggs, disclaiming all concern with the APPEAL."

He stated also in detail, that at a meeting in Shirley, on the 4th Wednesday of last September, the brethren above-named, together with himself, advised that such an 'Appeal' and 'Declaration' should be written, and sent to the 'Christian Repository' for publication; that Br. Wood wrote [1] and sent them accordingly; and that at their second meeting, holden in Boston on the 3d Wednesday of last December, they all, except Br. Hudson, who was not present, approved of the 'APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC,' and 'DECLARATION,' as they then stood printed in the 'Christian Repository.'

"These, therefore, we take to be the authors; and such we suppose to have been the origin of those pieces.

"Of their '*Declaration*,' we shall at present take no other notice than what may be of use in exposing the real character of the 'Appeal;' but of the Appeal we cannot take our leave till we have performed the most painful duty that has ever devolved on us as editors or as ministers.

"To begin, we must beg the reader to compare their '*Appeal*' with their '*Declaration*.' He will discover a most condemning absurdity on the very face of those two pieces, when they are compared. How do the authors represent *themselves* in the *Appeal?* Answer: as striving 'to preserve the union of the order,' — as seeking to continue in fellowship with those that deny, as well as with those that believe the doctrine of future punishment. Indeed, it is one of the grand objects of the Appeal to convince the public that they had assiduously endeavored to prevent a separation. — Very well. — Now turn to their *Declaration.* What do they *there* say concerning the doctrine of *no* future punishment? Answer: that it 'is subversive of a just sense of our account-

[1] "Probably he did not write them till after the adjournment of the meeting at Shirley." — *Editors.*

ability to God, and the proper distinction between virtue and vice, and, consequently, lessens the motives to virtue, and gives force to the temptations of sin.' And still they pretend to have been laboriously pursuing a course of measures for the very purpose of continuing in fellowship with those who believe and avow this *pernicious* doctrine! — this doctrine, of which they again say, 'if it be not certain that' it 'gives force to the temptations of sin, there is no moral certainty upon any subject whatever!' — of which they also say, *repeatedly*, it sets aside the scheme of salvation by *Christ!*' Mark this, reader: it '*sets aside the scheme of salvation by Christ!*' as well as is 'detrimental to the morals of community,' and irreconcilable with their own doctrine; — [1] and yet they are willing to profess before God and man, to fellowship those who believe and avow it, — to fellowship them as *christian ministers!* and have even studiously sought to prevent every thing that might lead to a separation from them! Let those believe all this story who can. The fact is, he who contrived this story, has *not wished* to prevent a separation, — he has *sought* one with all his heart, as we shall shew before we conclude; but he and his associates knew that a separation would be unpopular, and wished to fix the odium of the measure on others.

"How desirous they have been 'to preserve peace and tranquillity,' is evinced *by the manner in which they published their Appeal.* Let it be here observed, how-

[1] "— 'this corruption appearing to be seated and growing among the order of Universalists in the United States, and believing that it is a great hindrance to the reception and spread of the truth, as well as detrimental to the morals of community,'—

"— 'in our opinion the doctrine of *universal salvation at the commencement of a future state*, and that of the *final restoration of all men by Jesus Christ, through faith and repentance*, are distinct and different doctrines, and are incapable of being reconciled together.' — Extracts from their Declaration."

ever, that in the Appeal they endeavor to make the public believe that those brethren who deny the doctrine of future punishment, together with the editors of the Magazine, have conducted so inconsistently with the rules of good fellowship as to provoke towards a separation.[1] Now, this appeal the authors published to the world, with all its items of complaint against their own brethren, *without having exchanged one word with them on the subject.* They had not informed us that they were even dissatisfied[2] with that part of our management of the Magazine of which they complain in the Appeal, altho some of them had been frequently in company with us, and had conversed with us particularly about the Magazine. They had preserved the same silence too, at least as far as we can learn, towards those brethren (or *that party,*[3] as they call them in their 'most conciliating spirit') who

[1] "'But be it ever remembered, and I appeal to the foregoing FACTS to substantiate my assertion, that *if a separation be the final* RESULT, we did not seek it, and they must be considered as its legitimate authors.' — Extract from the Appeal."

[2] "It may be proper here to state that in November last (after the Appeal was sent to the 'Christian Repository' for publication) we *accidentally* heard that Mr. Turner and others had, at their meeting at Shirley, last September, *publicly* complained of wrong received from the Editors in the management of the Magazine. One of the Editors saw Mr. Turner on the same day, and told him what he had heard. Mr. T. replied that he had thought we did wrong in *not following the plan offered in the 'Proposals.'* This editor, perceiving a dissatisfaction, wrote him an account of our management in every thing relating to the 'Proposals,' (the substance of which account we shall insert) and then added, 'if, contrary to my expectation, it should still appear to you that we have injured, I ask of you the boon of a brother, — forgiveness.' Afterwards he went to Mr. T.'s house, and Mr. T. then told him that *he knew not that we had done wrong in that affair*, except in not following the plan offered in the 'Proposals.' After this Mr. T. approved of the Appeal as it stands in the Repository!"

[3] "We believe the authors are the first, and we hope the last, to call those brethren who do believe in future punishment, and those who do not, PARTIES. It is a word of bad influence."

deny the doctrine of future punishment. Of them they complain, that they at length 'seemed to attach more importance to' the idea 'that all misery is confined to this life.' The authors had not before told them that they felt dissatisfied with this circumstance; they had not even told them that such a circumstance existed. They complain also, that those brethren were wont to dwell on that idea 'in their public discourses, and this too on Conventional occasions, and when they exchanged desks with their brethren who differed from them on this subject.' They had not before mentioned a word of all this to those brethren, so far as we can learn; to *many* of them we know they had not.

"In one word, they have *published* those complaints without previously endeavoring to dissuade their brethren from the commission of the pretended abuse. We mention this, not particularly to shew that it is a flagrant transgression of the rules of fellowship; but to bring forward the character of their procedure into full view. All their fervent desire for the preservation of harmony never put it into their heads to mention their dissatisfaction to their offending brethren; but it led them to think of holding those brethren up to public dislike.

"When the 'Appeal' was published, the authors still remained silent. We were occasionally in company with some of them, and once with *all* of them, except Mr. Hudson; but they said nothing about their publication,[1] nor gave us an intimation that they were the authors. And when we at length sent to Mr. Dean requesting him to inform us whether he was one, and, if so, who the

[1] "One of the Editors, on one of these occasions, attempted to expostulate with Mr. Wood for publishing the Appeal without a previous labor with the brethren complained of; Mr. W. neither said, or denied, that he was one of the authors; but would not hear the expostulation, and said he would do nothing on the subject except by writing or publications."

others were, he refused to answer unless we would first agree to terms of secrecy. When we wrote to Mr. Streeter of Salem, expostulating with him for his breach of the rules of fellowship in publishing complaints against the brethren without a previous labor with them, he attempted to conceal the fact that he was one of the authors, and affected much surprise that we addressed him as such.

"The foregoing is chiefly an account of the circumstances connected with the publication of the Appeal. We now come to an examination of the Appeal itself.

"We shall first prove that the following representation, which is kept up through the whole of the Appeal, viz. that the authors have sought 'to preserve the peace and union of the order,' is entirely false.

"In the year 1816, Mr. Jacob Wood applied to the General Convention of Universalists for a letter of fellowship, and received one. In this very year (more than six years ago) he persuaded one of the Universalist ministers to believe that it was necessary that the Convention should take a decided stand in favor of the doctrine of future punishment; and at the same time privately instilled prejudices into his mind against Mr. Ballou, then of Salem, (now of Boston,) who was supposed to doubt that doctrine. At this period, Mr. Wood was preaching in Haverhill, Mass. where he talked so much against Mr. Ballou that the society became dissatisfied with him as their preacher. All this while he pretended much friendship in Mr. Ballou's presence, as he likewise generally has since. Soon after this, he represented to Mr. Ballou that Mr. Turner was desirous of a correspondence with him on the subject of future punishment, and persuaded Mr. Ballou to write to Mr. Turner and invite such a correspondence. Let it be noticed that until this correspondence which was carried on in the 'Gospel Visitant,' there had been nothing special said

or written against the doctrine of future punishment. After engaging Mr. Ballou and Mr. Turner in the controversy, Mr. Wood obtained letters from almost all the Universalist ministers in New-England, stating their belief in future punishment; and then published extracts from those letters, without the knowledge of the writers, in an Appendix to a 'Brief Essay on Future Retribution.' He said he did this for the purpose of making known that the Universalists were believers in future punishment. The Essay, with the letters, was published *under the approbation of Messrs. Turner and Dean*, who had written their own letters *for publication* in it. In this Essay, Mr. Wood manifested some harshness, of which the following extract is a specimen: 'The many gross absurdities to which the doctrine of *immediate universal salvation* is liable, and *the vicious effects which it is calculated to produce*, render it a doctrine justly deserving of *disapprobation* and CONTEMPT.[1] This pamphlet came out about the first of September, 1817; and within a week or fortnight afterwards, the General Convention met at Charlton, where Mr. Wood was then preaching. At this Convention, Mr. Wood *privately* endeavored to persuade a number of ministers (among whom was one of the editors) to join him in a separate Association under the title of 'Restorationists,' but did not succeed. It would seem, from several circumstances, that Messrs. Turner and Dean then knew and approved of this attempt.

"Mr. Wood had previously *agreed*, with one of the ministers, to bring the subject of future punishment before this Convention at Charlton; and, if there proved to be a majority of members who would not assent to that doctrine, to declare their separation from them, and

[1] "See 'Brief Essay,' &c. page 24. Who can produce so severe and contemptuous an expression as this in all that has been written *against* future punishment?"

declare it *openly*. However, when the period agreed on had arrived, Mr. Wood refused to act according to agreement; but took the *clandestine* manner we have described. We wish the reader to bear in mind, that at this period there had existed no excitement against the doctrine of future punishment; there had been so little said or written against it, that very few of the Universalist ministers knew each others' opinion on the subject.

"At the Convention, in Charlton, Mr. Wood pursued his former practice of privately instilling prejudices, some of them of the most cruel kind, against Mr. Ballou; and boasted that 'he had got to come down.' He had likewise pursued the same practice in his conversation with the members of his society in Charlton, till it had become a subject of very general complaint among them.

"Ever since that Convention, he has, both in conversation with the ministers and in letters to them, confidently declared that there would be a separation of the Convention. Of himself and his *associates*, he has said, that they do not think that a union *ought* to be maintained, or *can be justified*, between two so opposite theories as are professed by the members of the Convention. [Mark this, reader, for they, in the Appeal pretend to have labored for union.] He has almost uniformly maintained that the doctrine of *no* future punishment tends to immorality; and that the professed believers of it are, in general, infidels. The following is only a *specimen* of his representations: Returning from Boston, he stopped at Mr. Nathaniel Whittemore's in Lancaster. Mr. Whittemore asked him, What news? to which he replied, 'Bad news, bad news, Br. Whittemore: — I am really sorry!' What is it? rejoined Mr. Whittemore. Mr. Wood answered, 'Nine tenths of Mr. Ballou's society are infidels, — I am really sorry.' As to his common practice of talking against Mr. Ballou, it may be well under-

stood by considering the fact that he has repeatedly *declared* to the ministers that it is his *design* and *determination* to lessen Mr. Ballou in the public esteem; and the societies where he has preached can bear him testimony that he has shewed himself in earnest in the prosecution of that design.

"When we consider all these facts, — the part that Mr. Wood has acted with the knowledge, and, often, co-operation of Messrs. Turner and Dean, — and the course that Messrs. Turner and Dean themselves have pursued, though not so *openly*, — we stand in utter astonishment at the falsehood of the Appeal. Have *they* endeavored to preserve union? Are we the authors of the threatening separation? Why, Mr. Wood himself has voluntarily and deliberately stated that he knew ENVY to be the cause of the threatened schism! Br. B. Whittemore had asked him the cause of Messrs. Turner and Dean's opposition to Mr. Ballou. 'Br. Whittemore,' said Mr. Wood, in answer, 'I know human nature so well as to know that envy is the cause of the impending schism.' He likewise told one of the editors that he had no doubt that the opposition of Messrs. Turner and Dean was caused by envy towards Mr. Ballou.

"Mr. Dean has reported, *secretly*, that Mr. Ballou retained nothing of Christianity but the *name;* and has talked against him in such a manner, to some of the brethren, that they have told Mr. Ballou they never should repeat the conversation, nor tell him what it was, unless they saw him in real danger from it. About two years ago, Mr. Turner intimated an unwillingness to proceed on in harmony; for, said he, 'then there would be nobody but Ballou.'

"But we desist from the enumeration of the facts in our possession.

"We shall now attend to the *particular* statements which they have made in the Appeal.

"It may perhaps be thought that those statements are of too trival a nature to merit attention. We grant that, *in themselves*, they are; but the reader will please to remember that, however unimportant, they are those on which the authors rely to substantiate their assertion that, if a separation be the final result, we and the other brethren complained of, are its *legitimate* authors. — We have discovered too, by letters, that they have endeavored, by means of those and similar statements, to make our brethren believe that those complained of have manifested an overbearing spirit. We therefore beg the patience of the reader.

"The first of those statements, which we shall attend to, is, that those brethren, who believe that all misery is confined to this life, were wont to dwell on that sentiment in their discourses on Conventional occasions.

"Now, the fact is, that not even one sermon has been preached at our General Convention against the idea of *future punishment.* Mr. Turner himself preached a sermon at the Convention in Lebanon, 1819, *in support* of that doctrine; and he is the only one who has preached directly on that subject, on those occasions. We beg not to be misunderstood; we do not deny that there have been sermons preached before the General Conventions, *both by those who believe, and those who deny the doctrine of future punishment,* in which particular texts were applied to this life, that some Universalists would refer to a state of punishment after death. Let it be understood too, that we do not mention the fact that Mr. Turner preached a sermon at the General Convention, in favor of future punishment, as an impropriety; the impropriety lies in his making the above statement, in the Appeal.

"Their next statement is, that those brethren who believe that all misery is confined to this life, were wont to dwell on that sentiment when they exchanged desks with their brethren who differ from them on that subject.

"We have not authority to deny that there have been instances in which brethren have dwelt on the idea that all misery is confined to this life, or preached against the doctrine of future punishment in the desks of those who believe that doctrine; *but we neither know, nor have heard of such instances,* and therefore venture to say they are not numerous. Let us, however, apply the remark we made in the preceding paragraph: we think that sermons have been preached in the desks of those who believe in future punishment, in which particular texts were applied to this life, which some Universalists would refer to a state of punishment after death. But this is no more than what Mr. Wood himself has repeatedly done in his writings.[1] But after all, how trivial is the statement we are replying to! Is there any impropriety in preaching directly on this subject in *any* desk? If we are not misinformed, some of those brethren who believe in future punishment have preached that doctrine in the desks of those who do not believe it; and we confess we never have been able to discover any impropriety in this practice. Our union will never be jeopardized by frankness; it is only the secret plotting of a domestic enemy that can endanger it.

"They also state, in the way of complaint, the treatment they have received in the editorial management of the Magazine.

"To shew that this complaint is without cause, we offer the following statement. It is abridged from a long and very particular account which one of the Editors gave,[2] in writing, to Mr. Turner, more than a month

[1] "See his 'Examination of Mr. Mann's Sermon,' and his 'Remarks' on 'A Letter to a friend, by a Clergyman of Massachusetts.' In these two Pamphlets he has applied Jude 7. — Matt. xii. 32. — Mark iii. 28, 29. — Luke xii. 10. — Matt. v. 26. — Matt. xviii. 24. — Luke xii. 59. — Rev. xiv. 11. — Rev. xx. 10, to the present life; all of which passages some Universalists have referred to a state of punishment after death."

[2] "See a former note."

before he finally approved of the Appeal. It may be proper to state that after giving Mr. Turner this account, the writer added, 'if, contrary to my expectation, it should still appear to you that we have injured, I ask of you the boon of a brother, — forgiveness.' This forgiveness, it seems, is not for us.

"'STATEMENT.

"'1. The "Proposals" (so called) by "Restorationist," had been published in the Magazine about eight weeks, before we, at Mr. Bowen's request, became the editors. In the mean time there was a controversy (*not about* FUTURE PUNISHMENT, but) about the *propriety of acceding to the plan which the Proposals offered*, viz. to write a statement of doctrine on each side of the question, &c. &c. &c. 2. When we engaged to become editors, Mr. Ballou, 2d. of Roxbury, (*who has never held "that all human misery is confined to this life"*) told Mr. Ballou, of Boston, that he wished that controversy about the Proposals to be stopped immediately. Mr. Ballou replied, that having been himself engaged in the controversy, he would have nothing to do in the editorial management of it, but leave it entirely in the hands of the two other editors. Mr. Ballou, 2d. then persuaded Mr. Whittemore (the other editor) to join in stopping the controversy; and himself wrote the notice to "Restorationist," excluding, in future, the controversy concerning simply the Proposals. This notice was inserted in the first paper that came out under our care. 3. *After this notice was printed*, we received the "two communications from Restorationist" which he says were in our office when we closed the controversy "by an editorial edict." [Be particular to observe that this controversy which we had closed was not about future punishment, but about the propriety of the Proposals; let it be observed too, that if any wished to accept of those Proposals, they were at perfect liberty so

to do, — our exclusion of the controversy notwithstanding.] 4. Afterwards we gave the following notice; "if any person or persons think proper to accept those Proposals, we shall be ready to make known such acceptance through the medium of this paper." 5. After this, "Restorationist," over the signature "*Lover of Truth*," sent *another* Proposal. This second Proposal we published, altho nobody [either one PARTY or the other, to use his own darling epithet] had seen fit to accept his first Proposal. But we pointed out some faults in it. He then sent us the reply [published in the Appeal,] which contains a *third* Proposal. This we rejected; and it is the only one that we can with propriety be said to have *rejected* from this author.'

"Let the reader remember that the whole of that management of the Magazine, of which the authors of the Appeal complain, was in consequence of the counsels of that editor who has never held 'that all misery is confined to this life;' and that in complaining, they as much complain against their own PARTY (to borrow their favorite term) as against any other PARTY in the universe. Of what importance, let us ask, was the controversy about Proposals which every body had the opportunity to accept? Had we written the Proposals ourselves, we would have stopped any controversy about them which was likely to occupy much of the paper.

"Three more particulars we will insert from the account sent to Mr. Turner, and we have done:

"'—6. We had *not*, we think, rejected one communication in favor of the doctrine of future punishment. 7. We had rejected, at least, *eight* communications designed to support the doctrine of no punishment after death. 8. We had rejected many communications, on other subjects, from the friends and supporters of the Magazine.'

"We now take our leave of the Appeal.

"It seems necessary carefully to caution those brethren who live at a distance, against supposing that the *disaffection*, manifested in the Appeal, is between those *who believe in future punishment* and those *who do not.* The whole of that affair was got up solely by the authors,[1] whom we have named; and with them it will end. It has not, and will not extend to one single minister beside them, in the whole Convention. The indubitable proofs of anxious devotion to the union of our Convention, which we have received from all quarters, have exceeded our expectations.

"We cannot conclude without expressing our gratitude to our brethren who have so magnanimously stepped forward and furnished us with the testimony we needed. It has been an unspeakable consolation, in this season of affliction, to see those brethren who believe in future punishment and those who do not, manifesting but one spirit, and equally assisting in exposing the enemy that sows discord. We cannot particularize, — God bless them all.

"The respected Editor of the 'Christian Repository' we beg to accept of our thanks for the friendly and impartial feelings he manifested in his editorial Remarks on inserting the Appeal. It may be proper to give this public testimony of our confidence in his brotherly affection, in order to prevent unfavorable suspicions in the minds of readers.

"We sympathize in the general grief of our brethren. Some of us can remember the friendship of former days; and the recollection brings up so many scenes of lost happiness that it is more than the heart can endure.

"Hosea Ballou,
"Hosea Ballou, 2d.
"Thomas Whittemore."

[1] "When we speak of the Authors of the Appeal whom we have named, we wish the reader to except Br. Briggs. See the first note."

Subsequently Rev. Messrs. Streeter and Hudson announced, through the "Magazine," that they were not concerned in writing or publishing the "Appeal to the Public." Afterwards it was made known that Rev. Messrs. Wood, Dean, and Turner were alone responsible for the "Appeal," and that Rev. Messrs. Briggs, Hudson, and Streeter joined them in the "Declaration." It was desired by the above named that the "Appeal" should be considered as a personal affair, and that chiefly on the part of Rev. Mr. Wood; while the "Declaration" was a setting forth of religious views as held by Mr. Wood and the five others associated with him, in doctrinal belief.[1]

No answer was made to this "Reply." "On the 18th of February, 1823," says Rev. Mr. Turner, in a letter to his daughter, "by the assistance of some good brethren, we succeeded in making an amicable settlement with two of the editors, Mr. Ballou 2d. and Mr. Whittemore, Mr. Ballou senior being absent. This settlement was satisfactory at the time; but no sooner did Mr. Ballou return home, than he influenced those young men to fall from the agreement they had made and signed, and thus the whole was rendered abortive."[2]

The text of this settlement, as preserved by Mr. Turner, was as follows: —

"The Authors of the 'Appeal and Declaration,' which were published in the *Christian Repository* of December, 1822, disavow any intention to injure the moral charac-

[1] See Letter from Rev. Charles Hudson to Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, in "Independent Messenger," Dec. 9, 1831.

[2] Universalist Quarterly, July, 1871, p. 263.

ter of the editors of the *Universalist Magazine*, to wound their feelings, or those of any brethren who differ from the authors of these papers with respect to the doctrine of future punishment. They also disavow any intention to break the fellowship of the Convention, or to stigmatize the character of any of its members; and they deeply regret that such should, in any instance, have been thought to be the meaning of their language; and so far as this impression has been made, the language which conveys, or is thought to convey, such a meaning is hereby recalled.

"And the editors of the *Universalist Magazine*, on their part, in consideration of the above statements, wish it to be understood that the allegations and remarks contained in their reply of February 1, published in the *Magazine*, so far as they regarded the authors of the 'Appeal and Declaration,' are hereby withdrawn, and that thus the union and harmony, which have been for a moment interrupted, are again restored and confirmed."[1]

On the 7th of March, as this agreement had not been published in the "Magazine," Mr. Turner wrote to Rev. H. Ballou, 2d: —

"When you were last at my house, I conceived that there was more than a probability that our difficulties might be speedily settled . . . on the ground on which we proceeded before, to which you seemed to accede. I am now convinced that your brethren are not, at present, disposed to this measure; nor do I learn that they are willing to refer the matter to a Council. I am willing to do the latter if we cannot agree to the former. But I am not willing that the business should lie in its present state. You must know that our long silence in respect to your reply is no assurance that we will be

[1] Universalist Quarterly, July, 1871, footnote, pp. 263, 264.

silent forever. We know that, if you will neither come to an adjustment on the principles which governed us before, nor agree to choose a mutual Council, we are entitled to call a Council, *ex-parte*, and shall avail ourselves of the privilege. I am still willing to do as you and I agreed the other day; . . . but I am not satisfied to wait much longer without coming to some decision."[1]

In the "Universalist Magazine," March 15, 1823, appeared the following, signed "Hosea Ballou, 2d, Thomas Whittemore:" —

"On the 18th ult. *we, the subscribers*, and the authors of the 'Appeal to the Public' did sign a mutual agreement, and agree that the agreement, in the form of a *public notice*, should be published in the Universalist Magazine of Feb. 22d; but that agreement was not published, because we, the subscribers, afterwards withdrew our names from it for the following reasons, viz.

"1. We discovered, on reconsideration and also by additional information received immediately after signing it, that the statements in the agreement were not true.

"2. The Editors had before entered into a mutual understanding that we would not publish anything relative to the 'Appeal to the Public' without the consent of *all* the Editors; and as the senior editor was not present at the making of said agreement we were satisfied on reflection that we *alone* had no right to agree to the publication of such a notice."

When Mr. Turner made the above-quoted statement, in 1823, that Mr. Ballou influenced the junior editors to fall from the agreement, he doubtless believed that he was stating a fact, and possibly he entertained

[1] Universalist Quarterly, July, 1871, footnote, p. 263.

this opinion a long time; but it is not probable that Mr. Ballou was aware that Mr. Turner charged him with exerting such an influence till long afterwards. In a letter to Mr. Turner, dated Boston, May 22, 1827, Mr. Ballou writes: "I had no hand in breaking up the settlement with Bros. Whittemore and H. Ballou, 2d. I told them if they had subscribed to matters of fact to abide by their agreement; but they both said that what they had subscribed to was false. I then told them that they must see to that."[1]

In June, 1823, Mr. Wood notified the public that the "Authors of the Appeal" had prepared for the press a defence against the attack made on their characters by the editors of the "Universalist Magazine;" "but, by the earnest and sober advice of our friends, we have thought it best to suspend it." And he added: —

"The controversy has assumed a character wholly personal, and our antagonists have descended to the lowest grade of personalities — raking up insulated, inadvertent, and indigested expressions, used in private conversation, and publishing them to the world! . . . Feeling a strong reluctance to following the course which they have marked out, in filling the public prints with crimination and recrimination of a personal nature, and being persuaded that the public in general (all but those whose partial attachments place them beyond the power of conviction), will do us and themselves the justice to think of us according to what they have seen, and shall know of us in future, we are willing to risk the decision in their hands."

"As it respects the final issue of this unhappy contest, I am unable to make any probable conjecture. We

[1] Universalist Quarterly, January, 1873, p. 46.

have once made an amicable settlement with two of the Editors; but, to our great astonishment they have assumed the right to violate it! Since this, we have offered them terms for a settlement which, I am confident, would be esteemed fair and honorable by all disinterested persons, but they have all been rejected."

On the 10th of the same June, at the meeting of the Southern Association in Stafford, Conn., —

"The attention of the Association was called to the consideration of two communications published in the Christian Repository for December, 1822, entitled an 'Appeal to the World' — and a 'Declaration,' having for their authors certain Brethren in fellowship with this association; which communications indicate a breach of fellowship, and are injurious to the good feelings and harmony which ought ever to prevail among brethren engaged in one cause, having for the end of their labors, the cultivation of the moral and social virtues; the liberation of the human mind from prejudice and bigotry; and the production in the heart of the spirit of benevolence, philosophy and love.

"*Voted*, That the said 'Appeal' and 'Declaration' be referred to a committee of three for their examination; and that they report what notice this Association ought to take of the same. Brs. R. Carrique, J. Bisbe, and J. Frieze, were appointed on this committee."

Subsequently the Committee made the following report, which was adopted unanimously: —

"This Association considers it expedient to express this public disapprobation of a 'Declaration,' and an 'Appeal' which appeared in the Christian Repository for December, 1822, as they tend to dissolve the bonds of union, by manifesting a disposition in their authors to

deprive us of the name and character of christian ministers.

"*Voted*, That Brs. Carrique, Bisbe and Frieze be a committee to write to the brethren who are the authors of the Appeal and Declaration, and make known to them the views entertained by this Association of such communications."

Rev. Paul Dean was present at this meeting of the Association, but left for home at the close of the first day's session. Personal difficulties between Mr. Dean and Mr. Ballou, which had for a long time kept them apart, were adjusted at this time, in a private manner, before Mr. Dean absented himself from the session. Although these difficulties were not caused by the "Declaration and Appeal," nor were touched upon by the things therein stated, the action of the Association in arraigning the authors of those papers was censured by some on the ground that this personal settlement ought to apply to all concerned in the "Declaration and Appeal," and by others on the ground that it was an unfair and *ex-parte* decision.

Rev. S. C. Loveland published a long and severe article in the next number of the "Christian Repository," in which he said of the controversy: —

"It has, till the present, been a subject of individual difficulty, but now appears in the Southern Association, in which they have engaged on one side of the question, in a manner that appears unprecedented and unaccountable. This Association has passed a vote of censure on their brethren, of manifesting a disposition to deprive the deniers of future punishment of the name and character of Christian ministers; but they have not instructed their committee to labor with them, with a view

to reclaim them in the least degree. Their committee are barely to communicate by writing their ecclesiastical censure. Who could suppose that such a procedure could have the least tendency to reconcile the accused aggressors, when the whole scope of the accusation, they had no reason to believe, was any other than a mere subject of dispute ? "

Then, after quoting the "Declaration," Mr. Loveland adds: —

"It may be proper here to notice, as there now lies a public censure on my brethren, that the above statements were sent to me without the explanatory remarks, and received my assent, as expressive of my sentiments on these subjects; and did actually receive, in one instance, a modification from my pen. With the Appeal I had nothing to do, and of the explanatory remarks I had no knowledge till they were sent for the press. Here I take the liberty to state for myself, what no doubt is equally true of my brethren, that I had no idea or disposition, by the above statements, of depriving them of 'the name and character of Christians.' Neither do I believe the accusation is supportable from the Appeal or Declaration. Finding my brethren censured on this ground, I have no disposition to hide myself, because they would allow me to do it; for if there is any guilt or blame in this thing, I am one of the aggressors as well as they. And if they are called to suffering on this account, let me have my share; for it is worth a world to perish in a cause which conscience approves, in comparison with feasting on the riches of deceit, and treading on the ashes of those that would not expose a brother to the shafts of an enemy."

A severe criticism on the procedure, and a strong censure on the Association for its action, also appeared

in "The Evangelical Repertory," edited by Rev. Edward Turner. The writer of the criticism signed his article "A Friend to Justice."

The settlement made by Mr. Dean and Mr. Ballou was not final. Soon Mr. Ballou thought he had reason to suspect that Mr. Dean was misrepresenting the manner, if not the terms, of the settlement; and Mr. Loveland took occasion to say: "Br. Dean's settlement with Br. Ballou appears like a piece of new cloth sewed to an old garment. The new piece is torn out, and the rent made *worse*." Mr. Ballou and Mr. Dean attended the session of the General Convention at Clinton, N. Y., in September, 1823. Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, preferred charges against Mr. Dean, and Rev. Charles Hudson retorted with charges against Rev. Hosea Ballou. The particulars in the complaints are not recorded. The Convention "attended to the examination of the complaints," and voted, in each case, "to exonerate from the several charges." Mr. Dean thereupon "Made a request to withdraw from the Fellowship of this Convention," which was granted.

We have no information that this question of future punishment was agitated in any Associations or Conventions of Universalists outside New England, except in a solitary instance in the State of New York. Rev. S. R. Smith, in a sketch of the session of the "Western Association" at Fly Creek, Otsego County, on the first Wednesday in June, 1823, mentioning that Rev. Edwin Ferriss made "a request for permission to *withdraw* from the fellowship of the Association," adds: —

"The principal, indeed, the only reason which he assigned for that extraordinary and abrupt procedure,

was that he was a believer in *future limited punishment*, and as that doctrine was not made an essential pre-requisite for the ministry, he could not voluntarily and conscientiously remain in fellowship. He still professed, what he had always done, that in heart and soul, in faith, and hope, and trust, he was a Universalist. However momentous the reason given might appear to himself, it was one which, if it operated at all, should have done so through the preceding twenty years. For it is morally certain that during that whole period, the candidate for fellowship or ordination, had never once been asked whether he did, or did not believe in future limited punishment. . . . It was well known to most of the clergymen present, that a movement was in progress in New-England, to effect a permanent division of the denomination, on the question of future disciplinary punishment. And the meeting of the Association might perhaps have been regarded by him as a favorable opportunity for testing the views and feelings of that body on the subject. If that was the intention, the experiment must have been entirely satisfactory. For though it was quite certain that a large majority of both ministers and laymen sympathized with him in opinion, his request for withdrawal was quietly granted, with scarcely a remark concerning the doctrine of future limited retribution. Here began, and here ended, all attempts — if this indeed was so intended — to agitate the subject of division in our Councils in the State of New York. Mr. Ferriss soon grew weary of standing and acting alone; and in 1827 he applied for, and received the fellowship of the Chenango Association, within the limits of which he resided." [1]

The Southern Association met at Milford, Mass., Dec. 9, 1823, when the Committee appointed at the last

[1] The Christian Ambassador, June 7, 1856.

session "to labor with the Authors of the 'Appeal and Declaration,' reported that they had attended to that duty, but without effect." In the afternoon session there seemed to be indications that a settlement could be effected, and the following action was taken: "Chose Brs. Hosea Ballou, David Pickering, Jacob Frieze, Richard Carrique, and Hosea Ballou, 2d, as a Committee, to draught Proposals of Reconciliation between those Brethren, who are the Authors of the 'Appeal and Declaration,' and this Association." Early the next morning, the Committee presented the following proposals: —

"Whereas certain publications, called an Appeal to the Public, and a Declaration to the World, have been construed to indicate a disfellowship, as expressed in a Resolve of the Southern Association, the undersigned, authors of the Declaration, being possessed of a fervent desire to restore the happy union and fellowship of our religious order, and to enjoy ourselves, and to assist our brethren to reciprocate with us the inestimable blessings of harmony and brotherly love, desire to remove all difficulties above noted, by certifying that we do most cordially acknowledge and accept as Christian ministers and brethren, such as differ from us on the subjects of doctrine maintained in the above-named publications. And we receive and consider the acceptance of this proposal by the Association, as an assurance on their part that they reciprocate the sentiments and feelings of Christian fellowship above mentioned."

This being accepted by the Association, was signed by Rev. Messrs. Edward Turner, Barzillai Streeter, and Charles Hudson, the only signers of the "Declaration" present; whereupon the Association

"*Voted*, That the same is fully satisfactory to this Association, in relation to the signers thereof, and that this body reciprocate the Christian feeling and fellowship therein expressed."

Rev. Edward Turner has left the following statement in regard to the foregoing: —

"In December last, the Southern Association met at Milford. The authors of the 'Appeal and Declaration' had been impeached at the preceding session in June. They had been adjudged without a hearing, and the final decision of their case was now to be taken. Three of us only attended. We submitted various proposals for an accommodation of our difficulties, none of which was accepted by Mr. Ballou and his associates, because we refused to make a total retraction of what we had written, and it was stated that nothing short of that would satisfy the original complainants. When the subject had been long agitated without the prospect of coming to a decision, I moved that, as we had made so many proposals which the editors had rejected, the Association should next offer terms of its own, and tell us what would satisfy them, and we would soon say whether we would comply with their terms. This motion obtained. A Committee was appointed. They drew up terms which were accepted by the Association. These terms were nothing more than that we acknowledged our fellowship with those who differed from us on the article of future punishment. As this was what we had always asserted, and often told the editors, we were willing to sign the proposals, which we accordingly did. Thus this mighty affair terminated." [1]

Rev. Hosea Ballou, in a letter written to Mr. Turner, in May, 1827, in answer to an allegation made by Mr.

[1] Letter to his Daughter. Universalist Quarterly, July, 1871, p. 268.

Turner that Mr. Ballou desired and sought a sterner settlement than that adopted by the Southern Association, said: —

"I must crave the indulgence to mention something in relation to what you say you were informed concerning my standing out for much higher terms than those which were accepted. In the Council you say you are certain I did. Now I will not doubt you really thought so. But, sir, I am confident you did not think correctly. I have asked my Cousin and Bro. Whittemore this day, whether they have any recollection of my standing out for *any* particular terms in Council, and they both say they have no such recollection. As to my standing out for higher terms when the Committee to draft the terms were by themselves, we all there recollect perfectly, that there was not even the smallest appearance of any such thing. I proposed that each should write his own mind, and then we would all read what was written. And if any one should be acceptable to all, that should be returned as the report of the Committee. All acceded to mine; and this was all the 'standing out' there was, as to me."[1]

At the next session of the Southern Association, held at Attleborough, Mass., June 8, 1824, "Bro. Jacob Wood gave his assent to the article signed by Brs. Turner, Streeter and Hudson, at the session of the Association, in December last. Bro. Paul Dean also assented to the same article, and agreeably to his request was voted into fellowship." The Clerk, Rev. Jacob Frieze, said, in the Circular Letter: —

"Brethren, we will not withhold from you the joy we experience, in giving you the information that, the diffi-

[1] Universalist Quarterly, January, 1873, pp. 47, 48.

culties which have for some time past existed between some individuals in this body, and which have excited so much regret, and such general interest, have, at length, been amicably adjusted; and thus peace and harmony restored, to the satisfaction of the brethren, and we trust, to the disappointment and discomfiture of our inveterate opposers — and we doubt not, that we, that you, one and all, will unite our exertions, henceforth, to prevent the springing up of any root of bitterness, whereby peace and harmony may again be interrupted. May past examples suffice as a serious admonition to us, ever to labor to 'keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'"

Of Rev. Paul Dean's readmission to fellowship, Rev. Thomas Whittemore, who opposed it, has thus written: —

"The most of the brethren took ground in favor of admitting him, though a few were decidedly opposed to such a measure. Among the former was Mr. Ballou; among the latter was Mr. T. Whittemore. It was a rare thing to see these gentlemen on opposite sides. The truth was, Mr. W. believed that, as the denomination had then *no* connection with Rev. Mr. D., — as he had gone out from among us of his own accord, — as his connection with the order for the last eight or ten years had been the source of great disquiet, and as there was not sufficient ground of faith that his renewal of connection with us would not fan the flame anew, Mr. W. felt it his duty to oppose, and *did oppose*, the granting of Rev. Mr. D.'s application. Mr. Ballou's heart was so full of tenderness, that the moment Mr. D. looked towards him, and asked for fellowship again, expressing thereby in the most formal and sacred manner a desire to live in peace and harmony with the denomination, he was entirely overcome. He had not the slightest objection

to granting Mr. D.'s request; but, on the other hand, used his influence publicly and privately to have it granted. He took Mr. Whittemore aside, and said, 'I believe Br. Dean is sorry for what has happened; I *cannot* vote not to receive him; if we err at all, let us err on the side of forgiveness. Withdraw your opposition, Br. W. for my sake; perhaps the joys of former days will return.' Mr. Whittemore saw nothing but evil in the vote about to be taken; but, at the request of Mr. Ballou, he abated his efforts to prevent its passage, which probably he could not have done, had he made his fullest exertions to that end. Mr. Dean was received again into fellowship.

"The sermon which Mr. Ballou preached on this occasion was a most singular and remarkable one, from the words, 'Is anything too hard for the Lord?' Genesis 18: 14. We cannot give a description of it. It was purely extemporaneous, and was never published. The doctrines of men were never more faithfully exposed than they were at that time. Smiles and tears were visible, like alternate sunshine and rain. The people were so deeply moved that they kept in almost constant motion, quite unconsciously to themselves. Look up into that pulpit. Mr. Ballou had taken up with him Rev. Messrs. Dean and Wood. It was a spectacle we had not seen for a long time. Mr. Dean had offered the principal prayer, and Mr. Wood was to offer the concluding one. They sat on the right and left of Mr. B. as he delivered his masterly discourse. He was a happy man at that service. He believed he had regained a brother."[1]

The controversy in the "Universalist Magazine" ceased; and to all appearance harmony was restored. For several years thereafter, the discussion of this

[1] Whittemore's Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou, vol. ii. pp. 258, 259.

vexed subject was confined to pamphlets and books. Rev. Messrs. Hudson, Whittemore, and Balfour were the principal writers. Mr. Hudson published a pamphlet on the "Doctrine of the Immediate Happiness of All Men at Death," which Mr. Whittemore answered in a "Review of Hudson." Mr. Balfour, in his "Inquiry into the Import of the Words rendered Hell," sought to sap the chief foundation of the doctrine of eternal torments. Mr. Hudson, in a notice of the "Inquiry," published in the "Christian Repository," said that Mr. Balfour's "arguments weigh equally against all misery in a future state, whether temporary or endless." Mr. Hudson published, in 1827, a book of three hundred and seven pages, entitled, "A Series of Letters to Rev. Hosea Ballou, being a Vindication of the doctrine of a Future Retribution, against the principal arguments used by him, Mr. Balfour, and others." Mr. Ballou did not reply. Indeed, in a letter to Rev. A. Kneeland, in answer to one in which his attention is called to Mr. Hudson's letters, Mr. Ballou said : —

"As to the license and its latitudes, which the writer, to whom you allude, has taken with my publications, I am unacquainted, having never read his work. Having been informed, by the best of judges, that it contained no new arguments on the merits of the subject to which it professes to be devoted, and having so often answered those which have been in use, I have not been disposed to go over grounds which I was sure would present neither fruits nor flowers, pleasant to the taste or eye."

Mr. Balfour, in 1828, in his work, "Three Essays on the Intermediate State of the Dead," adds, "Remarks on Mr. Hudson's Letters in Vindication of a Future

Retribution." Some of the personalities in which he indulges are exceedingly offensive. He accuses Mr. Hudson of writing his book merely to gratify personal spite, of hypocrisy, unfairness, a caricature and misrepresentation of Mr. Ballou's views; and then — as seems strange after such an accusation — adds: "I had not the books, [Mr. Ballou's writings], at hand, or I should have satisfied my curiosity, in looking into them to see whether he quotes him fairly and understood him correctly."

Early in 1829 Mr. Hudson published "A Reply to Mr. Balfour's Essays." This was followed, later the same year, by "Letters on the Immortality of the Soul, the Intermediate State of the Dead, and a Future Retribution, in Reply to Mr. Charles Hudson," by Mr. Balfour. In 1830 Rev. Lyman Maynard published a pamphlet on "The Doctrine of a Future Probation, defended." And the same year Rev. Adin Ballou preached and published a sermon on the "Inestimable Value of Souls." This was noticed by Mr. Whittemore in a little more than two columns of the "Trumpet and Universalist Magazine" for July 3, 1830; a portion of the sermon being quoted with "approbation," and other portions — those relating to future punishment — were criticised as being "objectionable," not in harmony with the views of "American Universalists;" for the author "knew very well, and has known it for years, that a very large majority of his ministering brethren have applied these texts in a very different manner from that in which he has applied them." Mr. Ballou sent an answer, but it was not inserted, nor was its receipt acknowledged.

The same year Mr. Whittemore published "The Modern History of Universalism, from the era of the Reformation to the present time." In it he said (pages 435, 436): —

"The doctrine of a *limited future punishment,* as a distinct question, has never excited a very general interest. For twenty years a difference of opinion has existed on this point; but the difference in itself has not been the cause of alienation of feeling, or disruption of fellowship. Brethren of different views meet together in love, and enjoy rich satisfaction in each other's counsel and society."

In a note to page 439, Mr. Whittemore says: —

"In order to obtain the most satisfactory evidence concerning the numbers and views of the Universalists in the United States, I addressed a Circular to the principal Universalist clergy, requesting their answers to several questions, the last of which follows: 'What proportion of the Universalists with whom you are acquainted, believe in the doctrine of punishment in the future state of existence?' . . . Knowing the use I was about to make of their communications, they returned the following answers."

We abridge the answers in some cases, but cover all the facts contained in them.

Rev. William A. Drew, of Augusta, Me., said: —

"As far as my knowledge extends, I should think that a majority of our brethren would *not* affirm positively, as their settled belief, that there will or will not be punishment hereafter. The other half may be pretty equally divided on the subject. But of all this I cannot speak with certainty. Of the ministers, *five* are open disbelievers

of any future punishment; *eight* profess to believe it, but most of them do not seem to be strenuous about it; and the remainder are studiously silent on the question. It may be that this proportion quite nearly answers also to the laity on this subject."

Rev. George Bates, of Livermore, Me., speaking for that part of the State which lies west of the Kennebec, said: —

"I find it somewhat difficult to answer your sixth question. I cannot judge of a man's peculiar sentiments, any further than they are declared; and as I have in all my public labors studiously avoided any direct statements on this point, in consequence of not being myself decided either way, the subject has not been sufficiently discussed to enable me with accuracy to pass judgment. I should, however, give it as my opinion, that believers in punishment in a future state of existence, are in the minority in this part of the State."

Rev. Joseph P. Atkinson, of Meredith, N. H., answered: —

"With the Universalists in the county of Strafford, I am considerably acquainted, and should give it as my opinion, that a large majority confine sin and misery to this transitory state."

Rev. William S. Balch, of Winchester, N. H., said: "I know nothing about their opinions concerning an intermediate state."

Rev. Menzies Rayner, of Hartford, Conn., wrote: "I believe there are few of what are called Restorationists in this State."

Rev. Stephen R. Smith, Clinton, Oneida County, N. Y., answered: —

"It is impossible to ascertain, with much certainty, the number of those who believe in a state of disciplinary punishment after death. There is, however, no doubt, that they are a minority of the order of Universalists in this State. My personal acquaintance extends to two thirds of the societies at least; and though there are believers in future punishment in all of them, yet, in general, they appear not to be as numerous as those who reject that doctrine. The same is unquestionably true of the preachers. But this is a subject on which very little interest is felt, and is seldom agitated by the preachers."

Rev. Pitt Morse, of Watertown, Jefferson County, N. Y., said: —

"The majority of Universalists with whom I am acquainted, do not believe in punishment beyond this mortal state. But there are some who believe in a limited punishment in a future state of being."

Rev. Aaron B. Grosh, Marietta, Lancaster County, Penn., wrote: "Persons who *call* themselves Universalists, believe, I compute, from one fiftieth to one twentieth part in punishment after death."

Mr. Alexander Mac Rae, editor of the "Liberalist," in Wilmington, N. C., answered: "Universalists in this State, with but few exceptions, believe in no punishment after death."

Rev. Josiah C. Waldo, Cincinnati, Ohio, said: "Mr. R. is thoroughly acquainted with the Universalists in every section of this country. The Restorationists, he says, are comparatively nothing."

Rev. Jonathan Kidwell, a travelling preacher in Ohio and Indiana, said: "There is but one preacher

within my acquaintance, calling himself a Universalist, who believes in future punishment, and there are but few private individuals."

The ministers in Rhode Island, and adjacent localities in Massachusetts and Connecticut, were accustomed to hold Quarterly Conferences. At the Conference held in Pawtucket Village, Oct. 30, 1827, it was voted that a meeting be held at the residence of Rev. David Pickering, in Providence, R. I., for the purpose of forming an Association, to be called "The Providence Association of Universalists; upon the plan proposed by the General Convention, at their last session." To this meeting they invited "the Societies in the State of Rhode Island, and the Societies of Attleborough, Milford, Medway, Bellingham, and Wrentham, in Mass., and the Societies in Norwich, Woodstock, Eastford and Pomfret, Ct." [1]

The meeting for organization was held Nov. 20, 1827, delegates being present from Providence, Attleborough, and North Providence. The Association was organized, and "Revs. Brs. Pickering, Killam and Cutler were appointed a Committee to draft a Constitution." [2] These comprised all the preachers in attendance. The next session was held in Chepachet, R. I., on the 21st of May, 1828. The Committee on Constitution reported progress, and was granted further time. At a session held in Attleborough, Mass., Nov. 19, 1828, the Committee reported, and a constitution was adopted for temporary use, the societies being requested to instruct their delegates with respect to its acceptance or rejection at the next meeting of the Association, on the third

[1] Christian Telescope, vol. iv. p. 79.
[2] Ibid., p. 105.

Wednesday in May, 1829. At that meeting, held in Pawtucket, the constitution was adopted. The day after the session, Rev. David Pickering "tendered his resignation of membership of the General Convention, and of all the Associations under its jurisdiction," subsequently giving as the reason therefor that "he was not satisfied with its rules and regulations."

The next session of the Providence Association was held at East Greenwich, R. I., Nov. 18, 1829. Rev. Messrs. Lyman Maynard and Nathaniel Wright were received as members. Mr. Pickering was moderator of the session. Of the next session, which was to have been held at Attleborough, May 19 and 20, 1830, we have no knowledge.

The Southern Association, which met at Berlin, Conn., a few weeks later, adopted the following: —

"Whereas it is the desire of this Association, as a member and branch of the General Convention, to preserve entire the union of our religious body; and whereas it is understood that the Providence Association does not intend to be under the jurisdiction of the General Convention, and whereas persons not members of the Convention, but who are opposed to its regulations, are acting members of said Association, and whereas we believe such measures are calculated to introduce and promote division in our common body; therefore,

"*Resolved*, 1st. That we recommend to Brethren in our fellowship to discountenance the formation of Associations which do not recognize the supervision of the General Convention.

"2d. That all Brethren who maintain membership with Associations not in fellowship with the General Convention, do thereby annul their fellowship and

membership with the order. Provided, that any Brethren who are now members of any such Association not in fellowship, may retain their membership by signifying their desire so to do, to the Standing Clerk of the General Convention, and by withdrawing from such Association."

Evidently the Southern Association went far beyond its authority and power in passing this last resolution. It was not the General Convention, nor had it any right to assume to speak for the Convention in any matter, least of all in announcing the terms of fellowship with that body. Not only the Providence Association, composed mainly of Restorationists, but Restorationists outside of that organization, denounced this action as an insolent assumption of unwarranted authority.

In September following, the General Convention, in session at Lebanon, N. H., passed the following: —

"*Resolved*, as the opinion of this Convention, that it is inconsistent with ecclesiastical order, for a person to be, at the same time, an acting member of two ecclesiastical bodies claiming equal powers, and such independence of each other, as implies the right of either to pursue a course in opposition to the general rules and regulations of the other."

This is said to have been a substitute for a resolution which, like the one passed by the Southern Association, was aimed specifically against the Providence Association, and, as the utterance of an abstract principle, was right and proper. Unfortunately, however, its passage just at that time and under the circumstances of the hour gave occasion to the Restorationists to

consider it as aimed particularly at themselves.[1] They claimed that the Providence Association had committed no hostile act against the Convention; that none of its members who belonged also to the Convention had ever refused to be governed according to the standing rules and discipline of the latter; that the constitution of the Providence Association contained nothing hostile to the rules and regulations of the Convention, but that one of its articles expressly declared that the Association would "hold itself in fellowship on equal terms with all other Universalist Associations;" and that if any of the members of the Association who were also in fellowship with the Convention were suspected of being disloyal to the latter, they were amenable under the laws of that body.[2] In short, they regarded the fact that the Convention, while appointing committees to inquire into the relations of the Maine and New York State Conventions to that body, omitted to make any investigation whatever into the constitution of the Providence Association, as indicating the determination of the General Convention to cut off the members of that Association, without even the form of trial, from membership in what was in name only the superior body, since there was not a Convention or Association in its fellowship which did not claim and exercise equal authority in all ecclesiastical matters with the General Convention. And in this conclusion they may have found themselves confirmed when, at the next session of the Convention, nothing whatever was done in the way of discipline of the Maine and New

[1] Independent Messenger, Nov. 18, 1831.
[2] Ibid.

York Conventions, when the committees of inquiry reported that the former regarded itself as "*A distinct and independent religious body,* having a right to transact its own business without the intervention of any other religious body whatever. . . . Our situation is such that convenience and interest can be better served in entire independency;" and that New York sent a resolution acknowledging "with pleasure its regard for the General Convention as a sister ecclesiastical body — that we have ever expressed a Christian fellowship for that body, and that we regard each as independent of the other so far as is consistent with strict and mutual fellowship."

At all events, whether the conclusion was warranted or otherwise by the vote of the Convention, the members of the Providence Association regarded that vote as a decree that they must abandon the Association or have no rights in the Convention. On this assumption they and other Restorationist sympathizers proceeded to act. At the close of the session of the Providence Association at Mendon, Mass., begun Aug. 16, 1831, "a Convention of Restorationist Ministers and Delegates, at which were present Revs. Paul Dean, David Pickering, Charles Hudson, Adin Ballou, Lyman Maynard, Nathaniel Wright, Philemon R. Russell and Seth Chandler, and several laymen, unanimously adopted the following preamble and resolutions: —

"Forasmuch as there has been of late years a great departure from the sentiments of the first Universalist Preachers in this Country by a majority of the General Convention — the leaders of which do now arrogate to themselves, exclusively, the name of Universalists; and

Whereas we believe, with Murray, Winchester, Chauncy, and the ancient Authors who have written upon this subject, that Regeneration — a General Judgment; Future Rewards and Punishments, to be followed by the Final Restoration of all mankind to holiness and happiness, are fundamental Articles of Christian Faith, and that the Modern sentiments of No-Future accountability, connected with Materialism, are unfriendly to pure religion, and subversive of the best interests of society; and Whereas our adherence to the doctrines on which the General Convention was first established, instead of producing fair, manly controversy, has procured for us contumely — exclusion from Ecclesiastical Councils, and final expulsion, and this without proof of any offence on our part against the Rules of the order or the laws of Christ; It was therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we hereby form ourselves into a religious Community for the Defence and Promulgation of the doctrines of Revelation in their original purity, and the promotion of our own improvement — to be known by the name of the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists.

"*Resolved*, That the annual meetings of this body be holden in Boston, on the first Wednesday and following Thursday in January."

Some seven months prior to this action, a public discussion of Restorationism, and of the desirableness of a separation of those holding Restoration views from the Universalists who confined all punishment for sin to this life, was begun by the publication of the "Independent Messenger," by Rev. Adin Ballou; the first number being issued Jan. 1, 1831. In this number Mr. Ballou gave, at considerable length, an account of his personal experiences with the Universalists, related

the various steps which had led him to become an Independent Restorationist, and finally to establish an organ for the illustration and defence of Restorationism. Lengthy extracts from this account were transferred to the "Boston Recorder," — a so-called Orthodox organ, — accompanied with severe comments on Universalists and Universalism. This brought out the editor of the "Trumpet and Universalist Magazine" in a lengthy reply through the medium of that paper, February 5. "Henceforth," says Rev. Adin Ballou, in a paper on "The Restorationist Secession," published in "The Universalist," Feb. 25, 1871, "there was hot work for a few years. On my part, I made it my business not to let a single hostile charge, imputation or innuendo, whether personal, doctrinal or polemical, go unrefuted during this period of active warfare. What I did in that line, and how I succeeded, can be known only by searching the files of the 'Independent Messenger.' Also the creditable assistance therein of my coadjutors."

The Providence Association continued in existence till 1836, holding its last session at Attleborough, on the 8th of June. At its session at Westminster, May, 1831, it granted a Letter of Fellowship to Rev. Seth Chandler, on whom ordination was conferred, the following October, at a Conference held at Medway. In 1834 Mr. Chandler became pastor of the First Parish in Shirley, Mass. (Unitarian), a position which he held till the first Sunday in June, 1879, when he completed forty-five years of active service. "He still holds a nominal connection with the church, and has performed pastoral and pulpit labors since the close of

what may be called his regular engagement." For many years Treasurer of the town, he has lately placed it under lasting obligations by writing and publishing its history.

At the session in Bridgewater, Mass., June, 1833, Rev. William Whitaker was received into fellowship. Mr. Whitaker was from England, and formerly in the Methodist ministry. With regard to him we have no further information.

The "Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists" held its first annual meeting in Boston on the first Wednesday in January, 1832; Rev. Adin Ballou, moderator; Rev. Seth Chandler, scribe. At the second annual session, in Boston, Jan. 2, 1833, the Association adopted a constitution and Confession of Faith. The constitution provided for a purely Congregational government; and the "Confession" was identical with the "Winchester Profession," except the third Article, which read: "We believe in a retribution beyond death, and in the necessity of faith and repentance; and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practise good works, for these things are good and profitable unto men." Annual sessions, with occasional extra sessions, were held each year thereafter, the last session being in 1841. The accessions to the ministry were as follows: Rev. E. M. Stone, 1833; William H. Fish, Edmund Capron, George W. Stacy, Henry B. Brewster, 1835; Emmons Partridge, D. S. Whitney, 1836; W. H. Kinsley, A. T. Temple, 1837; Charles Galaca, 1838; B. W. Johnson (late of the Methodist Protestant Church, Cincinnati, Ohio), Norwood Damon, 1839.

Rev. Adin Ballou stated, in the "Independent Messenger," April 26, 1834, that "the number of Restorationist preachers, unconnected with the Universalist denomination, is about twenty; a few of whom are what may be called Sabellian Trinitarians." "These were probably," says Rev. Seth Chandler, "Rev. Messrs. Paul Dean, Edward Mitchell, and Nathaniel Wright." Mr. Mitchell stood aloof from all associations and conventions; but including him among those who sympathized to a large extent with the Restorationist movement, we may say, that, in addition to the eight original organizers of the "Massachusetts Universal Restorationist Association," and those already noticed as accessions to its membership from time to time, the preachers either in fellowship, as visitors to some of the sessions, or otherwise openly avowed sympathizers, were: Rev. Messrs. George Bradburn, D. R. Lamson, William Morse, Daniel Parker, Isaac A. Pitman, Edward Palmer, James H. Sayward, Alanson St. Clair, William Whitaker, Stephen Cutler; in all thirty-one.[1]

This by no means represents the number of believers in future discipline among Universalists at that time. Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, in a letter to Rev. Charles Hudson, published in the "Independent Messenger," Nov. 25, 1831, reminds the editor of that paper that the General Convention "now counts among its members, as it ever has done, more Restorationists than belong to that party that seems to identify all its movements

[1] This list is made up partly from the published Proceedings of the "Association," and in part from the recollections of Rev. Messrs. Adin Ballou and Seth Chandler.

with that appellation." The secession from the General Convention was confined almost exclusively to Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Differences of opinion on the question at issue were entertained by Universalists elsewhere; but what was declared to be true in the State of New York, by Rev. Dolphus Skinner, himself a Restorationist, in the "Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate," Jan. 22, 1831, was generally true: "Though there are differences in *views*, we know of *none in feeling*." The "feeling," as it existed in Massachusetts, found bitter utterance, and long rankled in many breasts. It was, humanly speaking, an unhappy division and a great misfortune, and we cannot doubt that serious afterthought failed to justify a great deal that was said and written. "In the heat of controversy in which both parties were engaged, there were things said on both sides which it were better had not been said. These were to be attributed more to the young men."[1] So wrote Rev. Thomas Whittemore, many years after the controversy had ceased. Rev. Adin Ballou, who, as editor of the "Independent Messenger," was prominent on the Restorationist side of the controversy, has written the following, — true beyond all question as indicative of his own feelings; and true equally, we have no doubt, of the natural goodness of heart of all concerned: —

"Thomas Whittemore and myself were the hotspurs of the war — its fiercest antagonists in battle. But in our last interview, a little while before his death, he voluntarily declared his conviction that I had always been actuated by honorable and Christian motives, that

[1] Whittemore's Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou, vol. iii. pp. 89, 90.

he wished to have all unfraternal feelings forgotten, that he had derived much benefit from reading my writings, and that he desired we might end our earthly days in perfect mutual amity. I cordially reciprocated his kind sentiments, and the last remains of the hatchet were buried forever. I have no reason to doubt that a like reconciliation would have resulted between all the old belligerents from a like honorable interchange of views and feelings. Probably it *has* between those on the other side of 'death's cold flood,' for none of us were cold-hearted, malignant, vindictive or ungenerous men, whatever our combativeness and ambition."[1]

The same writer, in "The Universalist," Feb. 25, 1871, thus relates the circumstances attendant on the suspension and extinction of the "Restorationist Association:" —

"It will now be asked how this Secession Association came to its death? and why? I will give the facts and reasons.

"1. The Unitarian denomination, which previously to our secession had kept itself almost silent (not entirely so) concerning the final destiny of mankind, began at an early moment to sympathize with, encourage, befriend and fellowship us. Never did a little body of people more need such treatment, and never was one more grateful. Many of the Unitarian clergy, hitherto cautiously silent, avowed themselves Restorationist in sentiment. We were allowed perfect freedom to preach and publish our Restorationism. We were welcomed to Unitarian pulpits and parishes. We became to a considerable extent fused into their denomination. Can any body guess what effect all this was likely to have on our

[1] The Universalist, Feb. 4, 1871.

judgment as to the propriety of maintaining a separate denomination?

"2. The battle was over with the Universalist denomination. It was virtually over in 1835, by the cessation of all offensive language towards Restorationists as such. It was found not *to pay*. The very last demonstration of contempt, that I can now recollect, was made in the spring of 1834, by the editors of the *New Haven Examiner*, and, I think, *The Gospel Anchor*, respectively. Samuel C. Loveland, a learned Restorationist in Vt., who, though cordially sympathizing with us, still remained a member of the General Convention, publicly offered to write a Commentary on the New Testament for the denomination. Thereupon the said editors came out with such remarks as the following: 'S. C. Loveland, of Reading, Vt., who for some years past has been endeavoring to make himself notorious, . . . very modestly offers to write a Commentary on the New Testament for the Universalists — since Mr. Ballou has declined. We consider him unqualified in every respect for the undertaking. His peculiar views of doctrine are at variance with the great body of Universalists. He possesses little in common with the denomination to which he nominally belongs.' *Examiner.* 'Whatever our author might furnish in reference to the interesting subject of *punishment*, would be written in full view of his *fabled gulf of purgatorial sufferings in the future immortal state* — a sentiment which we regard as a relic of heathenism,' &c. &c. *Anchor.* Such fraternal compliments roused Dolphus Skinner, editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, Utica, N. Y., hitherto a quiescent Restorationist, who came out in a powerful article, of which the following is an extract. 'We have all along blamed our Restorationist brethren at the East for seceding from the connexion, and supposed that they would never have done it had they possessed a proper

spirit of forbearance and charity. But if they experienced many manifestations, from the brethren of opposing views, of a similar spirit and treatment to that we are now called to notice, we shall cease to wonder at, or blame them for such secession. Nay, we shall not only approve their course, but can assure these editors and the Universalist public, that a perseverance in, and the general prevalence (among Universalists) of the spirit these two editors have manifested will be followed, not merely by the secession of a dozen clergymen in one State, but by the secession of many scores, if not hundreds, throughout the Union.' I should like to quote the whole article, but of course cannot.[1] This closed forever the ultra Universalist policy of making its peculiar ism the orthodoxy of the sect. From that day to this, Restorationism within the denomination has breathed freely, until at length nine-tenths of it are Restorationists. And I venture to say that, in respect to the doctrine of future discipline, and also the care for personal religion zealously promoted throughout the body, the Universalist denomination is much nearer what we set out to make our association, than like its former self when we seceded. That the tide had turned in this direction began to be indicated in 1841. What room was there likely to be for working the machinery of a

[1] The New York State Convention of Universalists, at its session in Utica, May 29, 1833, after expressing, in resolutions, "the need of a suitable Commentary on the New Testament," solicited Rev. "Hosea Ballou, 2d, of Roxbury, Mass., to write and publish" such a work. Mr. Ballou, for various reasons, declined; whereupon Rev. Mr. Loveland volunteered to undertake the task, to the great satisfaction of the original suggestors of the Commentary. His qualifications as a scholar were at that time equal, if not superior, to those of any man in the denomination; and his accord with Mr. Ballou, 2d, in regard to the doctrine of future punishment, made the sentiments criticised by Mr. Skinner, and subsequently by many others, exceedingly obnoxious and absurd.

Restorationist sect between the Unitarians and Universalists, under these changed circumstances? Is it probable such a change could have been brought about without the intervention of our secession? Why then not accept the result? We did.

"3. The great moral reforms, temperance, anti-slavery, &c., &c., were sweeping across all the religious denominations, throwing theological and ecclesiastical interests into the back ground for the time, forming new associational ties, and weakening old ones. The Unitarians and Universalists felt this new influence powerfully. (Remember the *Christian Freeman, etc.*) Our association felt its full force. A part of us became radical (and perhaps even zealous) reformers, even to Christian non-resistance and social reorganizationism. The other part remained (perhaps wisely) conservatives on many points. We had no bitter differences, but honest ones, concerning these upheaving agitations. So it was with several of the older and larger sects. We met in 1841, on our tenth anniversary, and in view of all these changed circumstances, decided to suspend our denominational organization for the then present. It has remained suspended ever since, and there is no good reason why it should be revived. Its mission was a moral necessity, and well fulfilled — to the lasting good of all sects and parties affected by it."

In 1878 the Universalist Ministers of Boston and vicinity, after a discussion continued many weeks at their Monday meetings, on the subject of future punishment, committed to Rev. Messrs. A. A. Miner, T. J. Sawyer, C. R. Moor, O. F. Safford, and A. St. John Chambré, the preparation of a statement which should embrace essential principles held in common by the Universalist preachers generally. The Committee's

report, modified as the discussion progressed, finally took shape in the form here given. The vote on the motion for its adoption stood thirty-three in favor to two against. The negative votes did not denote objections to the points affirmed, but were based on different considerations. This approach to unanimity may be said, we think, to indicate the present attitude of the Universalist Church on the subject which occasioned the extended controversy whose history we have endeavored to sketch : —

"We the Universalist Ministers of Boston and vicinity, observing the wide-spread agitation in the religious world, with respect to the final destiny of our race, and more especially of those who die in impenitence and sin, and desirous that our views on this important subject should not be misunderstood, after much earnest thought and prayerful consideration, present the following, not by any means as a full statement of our faith, but as indicating its general character :

"1. We reverently and devoutly accept the Holy Scriptures as containing a revelation of the character of God and of the eternal principles of his moral government.

"2. As holiness and happiness are inseparably connected, so we believe that all sin is accompanied and followed by misery, it being a fixed principle in the divine government that God renders to every man according to his works, so that 'though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished.'

"3. Guided by the express teachings of revelation, we recognize God not only as our King and Judge, but also as our gracious Father, who doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men ; but though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies.

"4. We believe that divine justice, 'born of love and limited by love,'[1] primarily requires 'love to God with all the soul' and to one's neighbor as one's self. Till these requisitions are obeyed, justice administers such discipline, including both chastisement and instruction, and for as long a period, as may be necessary to secure that obedience which it ever demands. Hence it never accepts hatred for love nor suffering for loyalty, but uniformly and forever preserves its aim.

"5. We believe that the salvation Christ came to effect, is salvation from sin rather than from the punishment of sin, and that he must continue his work till he has put all enemies under his feet, that is, brought them to complete subjection to his law.

"6. We believe that repentance and salvation are not limited to this life. Whenever and wherever the sinner truly turns to God, salvation will be found. God is 'the same yesterday, to-day and forever,' and the obedience of his children is ever welcome to Him.

"7. To limit the saving power of Christ to this present life, seems to us like limiting the Holy One of Israel; and when we consider how many millions lived and died before Christ came, and how many since, who not only never heard his name, but were ignorant of the one living God, we shudder at the thought that His infinite love should have made no provision for their welfare and left them to annihilation, or, what is worse, endless misery. And it is but little better with myriads born in Christian lands, whose opportunities have been so meagre that their endless damnation would be an act of such manifest injustice, as to be in the highest degree inconsistent with the benevolent character of God.

"8. In respect to death we believe that however important it may be in removing manifold temptations and

[1] Rev. Mark Hopkins, D.D.

opening the way to a better life, and however like other great events it may profoundly influence man, it has no saving power. Salvation, secured in the willing mind by the agencies of divine truth, light and love, essentially represented in Christ, — whether effected here, or in the future life, — is salvation by Christ, and gives no warrant to the imputation to us of the 'death and glory' theory, alike repudiated by all.

"9. Whatever differences in regard to the future may exist among us, none of us believe that the horizon of eternity will be relatively either largely or for a long time, overcast by the clouds of sin or punishment, and in coming into the enjoyment of salvation, whensoever that may be, all the elements of penitence, forgiveness and regeneration are involved. Justice and mercy will then be seen to be entirely at one, and God be all in all."[1]

[1] The Universalist, March 2, 1878.

CHAPTER V.

1821–1886.

The name Universalist. — Denominational Polity. — The Centenary. — The Western Convention. — General Southern Convention. — North Western Conference. — Woman's Centenary Association. — Mississippi Valley Convention. — Historical Society. — General Reform Association. — Alabama. — Arkansas. — California. — Colorado. — Connecticut. — Dakota. — Delaware. — District of Columbia. — Florida. — Georgia. — Idaho. — Illinois. — Indiana. — Iowa. — Kansas. — Kentucky. — Louisiana. — Maine. — Maryland. — Massachusetts. — Michigan. — Minnesota. — Missouri. — Mississippi. — Nebraska. — New Hampshire. — New Jersey. — New York. — North Carolina. — Ohio. — Oregon. — Pennsylvania. — Rhode Island. — South Carolina. — Tennessee. — Texas. — Vermont. — Virginia. — Washington Territory. — West Virginia. — Wisconsin. — British America. — Sunday-Schools. — Children's Sunday.

SO far we have given with quite minute particularity a statement of the History of Universalism from year to year; but we are now reluctantly compelled, by lack of space, to omit details and put into very general statements the remainder of what we shall offer. Prior to 1819 we had few printed records. After that date periodicals became numerous, denominational papers rapidly multiplied, and the files of many of these are accessible to the reader who may desire particulars which we are obliged to omit.

A brief summary of facts relating to the spread and present condition of Universalism in America, of the growth and changes in organic law, and of our efforts and success in founding institutions for general and for

theological education, must for the present, and so far as this volume is concerned, complete our historical work.

It has been supposed by many, and quite confidently asserted by some, that the believers in Universal Salvation in this country originally called themselves Restorationists, and that the name "Universalist" is of later use among us. This is a mistake. The name Universalist, applied to James Relly and his followers about the middle of the last century, was adopted by Mr. Murray, a disciple of Relly. Rev. Elhanan Winchester was in belief a Restorationist, as that term is generally employed; but when he organized his first church among us, composed mainly if not wholly of former members of the Baptist church to which he had ministered, he gave them, or they of their own accord selected, the name of the "Society of Universal Baptists;" and when, just prior to the first meeting of the Philadelphia Convention in 1790, this society and the congregation established by Mr. Murray united, they reorganized under the name of "The First Independent Church of Christ, commonly called Universalists." There is no mention of the use of any other name except that of "United Christian Friends," taken by Edward Mitchell and his associates in 1796, — who always called themselves "Christian Universalists," — until the organization in 1812, by Rev. George Richards, of the short-lived "Church of the Restitution;" and no trace of the name "Restorationist" in the title of any church or society until 1823, when "The First Restorationist Society of Troy," N.Y., was formed. In the spring of 1825 the "First Society of Christian Friends, called Restorationists, at Saratoga

Springs," N. Y., was organized under Rev. Dolphus Skinner. When Rev. Charles Hudson settled in Westminster, Mass., in 1824, he called his society "Restorationists;" but their legal title, adopted at the organization in 1816, was "The First Universalist Parish or Society in Westminster."

In the management of its affairs each congregation was, as the preceding pages fully set forth, independent. On the organization of conventions and associations, this independency was not interfered with. Each society claimed, and at its pleasure exercised, all the powers which were claimed and attempted to be exercised by any convention or association. In consequence there was frequent embarrassment and trouble, especially in the fellowshipping and discipline of ministers. A motion to remedy this state of things was introduced into the General Convention as early as 1821, but encountered so much opposition that it was withdrawn by the mover. In 1827 it was proposed to alter the plan of representation, and provide that "the General Convention shall consist of all the ministerial brethren of all the Associations, in fellowship with the order, together with delegates from each of the State Conventions. . . . All Associations to adopt the Articles of Faith professed by the General Convention, and to be governed by the rules of the General and State Conventions, or such as they may adopt in conformity thereto." This so far met with favor as to be referred to a committee to draw up "the outlines of a revised plan for the better government of the Convention, the Associations and Societies in its fellowship," which, being unanimously accepted, was referred to the consideration

of the several societies. As, unfortunately, this plan proposed to exclude lay delegates, the whole was at the next session voted inexpedient.

In 1830 committees were appointed to visit the Maine and New York Conventions, and confer with them for the purpose of ascertaining the relations existing between them and the General Convention. The Maine Convention replied that it desired to preserve harmony with the General Convention and other conventions and associations of Universalists in the United States, but that it regarded the Maine Convention as "a *distinct* and *independent* religious body, having a right to transact its own business without the intervention of any other religious body whatever. . . . Our situation is such that convenience and interest can be better served in entire independency." The New York Convention passed a resolve acknowledging "with pleasure its regard for the General Convention as a sister ecclesiastical body — that we have ever expressed a Christian fellowship for that body, and that we regard each as independent of the other so far as is consistent with strict and mutual fellowship." In 1832 Maine, New York, and Pennsylvania consented to a reorganization, provided the powers of the new General Convention were advisory only. A revised constitution was therefore adopted in 1833, and the title of the Convention was changed to "The General Convention of Universalists in the United States;" and it was to be composed of four clerical and six lay delegates from each State Convention. "It disclaims all authority over, or right of interference with, the regulations of any State Convention or minor Association, and will only

exercise the privilege of *advising* the adoption of such measures and regulations as in its opinion shall be best adapted to the promotion of the general good of the cause." All that was gained by this revision was in securing a definite instead of an indefinite composition of the Convention. Societies had their direct representation in associations, associations in State Conventions, and State Conventions in the General Convention; each State, no matter how many or how few Universalist associations or societies were in its borders, being entitled to ten delegates.

The first attempt of the General Convention to give advice was in 1838, when it advised "the several State Conventions to respect the official acts of discipline of each sister State Convention." But its advice was not regarded. The State Conventions, each independent of the other, paid no respect to each other's official acts; and the denomination at large greatly suffered from its inability to rid itself of unworthy ministers, who, if disciplined and disfellowshipped in one State, sought and in some cases obtained good standing in another State.

The Miami Association, in Ohio, sent a memorial to the General Convention in 1841, asking for the adoption of a constitution and plan of church compact and course of discipline for societies, associations, and conventions. The subject was referred to a committee, and each State Convention was requested to ascertain and report through its standing clerk to the chairman of that committee, Rev. Stephen R. Smith, its approval or otherwise of such proposal. But two States responded, New York and Ohio, each approving. This the committee reported in 1842; and they were continued, with

instructions to draw up a plan of organization and discipline, and report at the next session. No progress was made till 1844, when Rev. T. J. Sawyer reported a carefully drawn plan of the powers and jurisdiction of the General Convention and of the State Conventions and Associations. So much as related to "the Powers and Jurisdiction of the General Convention" was accepted as a substitute for the Sixth Article of the Constitution, and final action on its adoption was deferred to the next session, at which time it was adopted with slight modifications. This set forth that "the United States Convention has jurisdiction over the several State Conventions, and may from time to time enact such laws for regulating the relations and intercourse of said Conventions as the general good of the Denomination may require. It may also pass such laws as are necessary to secure a uniform and wholesome discipline throughout the denomination . . . and may prescribe the terms on which Fellowship shall be granted, and Ordination conferred by all subordinate bodies."

It would seem at first view that an important end had been gained by the adoption of this article; but the concession as to what the Convention *might do* became an empty form of permission, which was practically interpreted as meaning nothing when attempts were made to do anything in those matters where uniformity of law and practice was most needed. At the very next session (1846) the rules of the Convention were suspended at an early hour, to permit the introduction of a resolution to repeal the amendment and restore the original article; and although this was laid on the table, and by a resolution a committee was appointed to draft "Rules

and Regulations governing the subjects of Fellowship and Ordination," they never reported; and when, in 1847, a protest against this resolution, as interpreted by the Illinois Convention, was introduced by a delegate from that body, the General Convention "Voted, That it had never prescribed any rules in regard to the subject of the protest." But a rule had become a necessity, and at that session a committee was appointed to present at the next session "some plan of securing uniformity of ministerial fellowship." The committee reported that every State Convention should be required to make "the recognition and acknowledgment of the Bible, as containing a special revelation from God, sufficient for faith and practice; and also a declaration on the part of the candidate to devote himself to the work of the ministry, an indispensable condition of granting Letters of Fellowship, or license to preach." This was adopted, with the following declaration of penalty: "Any State Convention or Association refusing to acknowledge the principle embodied in the above Article, or to conform to the unity of action and fellowship therein required, shall not be entitled to the fellowship or privileges of this Convention."

There was no further action on this subject till 1852, when, in answer to a request from a State Convention, whose decision in a case of discipline had been treated as a nullity by a sister convention, the General Convention adopted the declaration of the committee to whom it referred the request, that while "it seemed desirable that each State Convention should recognize the action of similar bodies as having binding authority, at least until such action shall have been reversed

by the decision of this Convention, your Committee are reluctant to recommend any action on the part of this body, which should interfere with the exercise of all the powers vested in the several State Conventions." So, in 1853, a resolution for the appointment of a committee "to consider and report on the following points, viz.: Whether an individual, having been disfellowshipped by one State Convention, is entitled to a seat in the Council of this Convention, as a delegate from another similar body; or, what permanent rule this Convention will adopt when the actions of two State Conventions conflict in any such case," — was indefinitely postponed. An effort at the same session to amend the constitution so as to cover such cases was also defeated; but a committee was appointed "to Revise and Amend the Constitution and Rules, and report at the next session a plan for the more perfect organization of the Denomination." The report of this committee was accepted in 1854, and adopted in 1855.

The new constitution provided that the Convention "Shall adopt such Rules and Regulations as shall be necessary to secure a Uniform System of Fellowship and Discipline throughout the denomination. . . . It shall also be the ultimate tribunal by which shall be adjudicated all cases of dispute and differences between State Conventions, and a Court of Final Appeal before which may be brought cases of Discipline and questions of Government not provided for nor settled by subordinate bodies." With the exception, however, of providing in the rules of order for the appointment at each session of a "Committee on Complaints and Appeals," no effort at the legislation required was attempted till

1858, when "An Act to Regulate the Jurisdiction of the several State Conventions and Matters of Discipline" was adopted, as also "An Act to Regulate a System of Appeals."

At the same session Rev. Dr. Williamson, in reporting as chairman of the Committee on the State of the Church, while expressing his own strong desire to see the General Convention elevated to the dignity of the head of the denomination, confessed that such had been the failure in the past "to gather up the scattered fragments of our fraternity, and mould them into one body, having a head to guide and hands to work," that "it is worthy of serious thought whether it were not better on the whole, to abandon the attempt entirely, and fall back upon the purely congregational basis, from which we have departed in theory, but upon which we do in fact stand, so far as practical results were concerned." And before the session closed a resolution looking to such a change was introduced, earnestly discussed, and finally referred to the new Committee on the State of the Church. This committee — Rev. Dr. Brooks, chairman — reported in 1859; and after stating that at present "We have the name and some of the forms of organization, but nothing of the thing itself," argued for a plan of government which should have power to do something worthy of our opportunities. The Convention enthusiastically indorsed the sentiments of the report, and recommended that "our ministers read it at an early day to their congregations." A committee was also appointed "to correspond with the several State Conventions with regard to a more complete organization of the State and General Conventions."

In 1860 only two State Conventions had forwarded official notice of their action, but it was known that all had considered it, and none had objected. From year to year the whole matter was in the hands of committees, whose work was unavoidably hindered by the all-absorbing attention given to the war, but who, in 1863, made an elaborate report, accompanied by detailed plans for the organization of all the branches of the church. These plans were unanimously adopted, "to take effect when the majority of the State Conventions shall approve the same." Guided by the reports received from the State Conventions, a special committee of one from each State represented in the General Convention of 1864 reported "that it is impracticable to make further effort for their general adoption." They were also of opinion that the constitution adopted in 1855 would, with slight modifications, give the General Convention all it sought. Such modifications related to adding to the composition of the Convention the Permanent Secretary and Permanent Treasurer of the body, and the President and Secretary of each State Convention; to giving the Convention "power to adopt such By-laws as shall be necessary in order to the efficiency of this Constitution;" giving the Convention "power to raise funds, and hold, manage, and disburse the same;" and to create a "Board of five Trustees, who shall have charge of the investment of all funds, subject to the order of the Convention." Thus amended, the constitution was unanimously adopted by the Convention.

During the year this action was ratified by a majority of the State Conventions, and the constitution was declared to be "the fundamental law of the Convention."

By-laws for carrying out the provisions of the constitution were also adopted; and rules for securing a uniform system of denominational organization and a uniform system of fellowship and discipline were reported, which were finally adopted in 1866. A Board of Trustees was elected, who, before the next session, procured an act of incorporation. The existence of a General Convention having authority in these important matters of fellowship, discipline, and missionary efficiency dates from 1865; and our present order, union, and prosperity is the result of the action then taken.

At the session of the General Convention in 1868, in anticipation of the one hundredth anniversary of the first sermon by Rev. John Murray in America, it was "Resolved, That a Fund should be raised during the year 1870, to be designated the 'Murray Centenary Fund,' the amount of which shall be determined by a Special Committee to be appointed at this Session."

The committee thus appointed held several meetings, discussed many plans, and finally instructed its Secretary to draw up a report embodying the several matters which it had decided to recommend. The following report was approved, submitted to the Convention in session at Buffalo, N. Y., in 1869, and unanimously adopted by that body: —

"The Centenary Committee, acting under instructions from the General Convention, and in consultation with its Board of Officers, have published their plan of objects and methods of Centenary work, and present the following summary of the same.

"As the end and aim of all our proposed effort is the glory of God, by increasing and perfecting instrumen-

talities for the spread of His Truth, we shall be best helped in the discharge of this, as of all other duty, by personal consecration to His service; and it is hereby recommended to all our people to give especial attention, during this Centenary period, to the perfecting of their own religious life, and the spiritual growth of their respective churches. Let public and private attention be called to the duty and privilege of Christian profession and church membership, to the peace and value of the ordinances of the Gospel, to the satisfaction and joy of Christian experience, and to the power and comfort of frequent and fervent prayer.

"This done, we shall be prepared to carry forward, in its true spirit, the work now presented in accordance with the desire and intention of the General Convention.

I. TIME.

"The Centenary Year is A.D. 1870; but the preliminary work for its appropriate observance should be commenced at once; and all contributions made for such General Church Purposes, in the year 1869, as may hereinafter be designated as Objects, shall be counted as part of the Centennial Offering.

II. OBJECTS.

"1. Let it be considered the first and highest duty of all Parishes, Educational Institutions, and other Organizations under the patronage of the Universalist Church in the United States, to pay all debts and other pecuniary obligations resting upon them.

"2. The liberality and zeal of the people in such localities as require it, should be appealed to for the payment or pledge of generous sums for the erection of Church Edifices, and the enlargement and beautifying of existing Church property.

"3. Money should be raised or pledged for the benefit

of our Educational Institutions, in all sections of the country; for the enlargement and strengthening of those already in operation, and for the founding of others in States yet destitute of them.

"4. Missionary Work, wherever called for; Sunday School Interests and Relief Funds, wherever located or instituted, should receive generous aid and increase.

"5. A Publication Fund, or Funds, divorced from private enterprise and interest, and conducted for the pecuniary benefit of the Church, is commended to the liberality of Universalists everywhere.

"6. As a SPECIAL MEMORIAL OFFERING, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars ($200,000) should be raised, to be known as the MURRAY CENTENARY FUND, to be vested in the Board of Trustees of the General Convention, and the income used under their direction, in the aid of theological students, the distribution of Universalist literature, church extension, and the missionary cause.

III. METHODS.

"1. The proceedings of the Committee, together with the communications it has received, shall be offered for publication in all Universalist papers, and the editors thereof are requested to agitate the subject, and to call the attention of our people to the importance of the proposed work, urging their instant and hearty co-operation.

"2. All our Associations, Conferences, State Conventions, and the General Convention, should, at the next sessions held by them respectively, and throughout the Centenary Period, make this a subject of special consideration; and by Conferences, Mass Meetings, and other assemblages, in different sections of their respective States, and the employment of such other agencies as they may select, carry forward the objects proposed.

"3. All Parishes and Sunday Schools are expected to co-operate in this work; all our preachers will doubtless take frequent occasion to call their attention to it; and, in addition to what is now suggested, the following Resolution of the General Convention should be borne in mind, and heeded: 'That, *on the first Sunday in June* in said year (1870), the Clergy of the Denomination be requested to hold services in their respective churches, appropriate to the Anniversary; and, on the same day, to set apart the second service as a Sunday School Commemorative Service.'

"4. In addition to the above, Special Mass Meetings should be held in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and Cincinnati, in the Spring of 1870; the meeting in Boston to be held during Anniversary Week; especial discourses to be given on this subject: and the friends in these different localities are requested to take early measures to make suitable arrangements, and secure competent speakers; it being understood that a full report of results will be desired at the session of the General Convention, in September, 1870, which will be held in Gloucester, Mass., with the Universalist Society organized by Rev. John Murray, the first of our faith established in America.

"5. The several State Conventions are called upon to give to the 'MURRAY CENTENARY FUND,' *over and above all other offerings*, a sum not less than one-half the aggregate amount paid for ministerial services, in their respective States, leaving each Convention to determine the quota of the parishes, according to their ability, or to secure such amount by any other method that they may deem best.

"6. All moneys for the Murray Centenary Fund may be sent either directly or through the Secretaries of the State Conventions, to the Permanent Secretary of the General Convention, Rev. J. M. Pullman, No. 1267

Broadway, New-York City, or, if more convenient to the donors, may be forwarded to the Chairman of this Committee.

"7. Revs. W. H. Ryder, D.D., J. S. Cantwell, and H. F. Miller, are appointed a sub-committee to have general oversight of the Centenary work in the West, co-operating with the Board of Trustees of the General Convention; and Revs. A. A. Miner, D.D., Richard Eddy, and J. D. W. Joy, Esq., are constituted an Executive Committee, to act for the General Committee, and to call meetings of the Committee whenever they shall deem necessary.

"8. We fully indorse the plan inaugurated by the women at the late meeting of the General Convention, — 'The Women's Centenary Aid Association,' — for raising funds for our 'Murray Centenary Offering;' and we recommend that application be made, not only to members of our congregations, but to all sympathizing women, both the older and the younger, as well in towns and neighborhoods where we have no parishes, as where we have.

"9. We heartily indorse the action of the General Convention in recommending the introduction of 'Missionary Boxes' into every household of our faith; and we urge upon our Ministers everywhere, the importance of taking upon themselves the duty of furthering this measure, and of seeing that every family in their respective parishes is provided with a Missionary Box.

"In the above we have harmonized the opinions presented to us, to as great an extent as possible, and we offer this result of our deliberations in the confident hope that, while we have omitted nothing which should appeal to the liberality of the Universalists of the United States, we have so given heed to the various preferences of our people, as to encourage their freedom of choice in the appropriation of their gifts.

"The occasion calls for our deepest gratitude to God, and for the manifestation of our largest generosity to the cause which He has committed to us. Our past is glorious, our present crowded with the most important privileges and the grandest opportunities ever presented to any people, and our future gives promise of an influence and power which, if we are now faithful, it is impossible for us to over-estimate.

"A hundred years, enriched by the labors of self-sacrificing and consecrated men, on whose work God has approvingly smiled, have not only secured us a place and power as a recognized branch of the Church of Christ, but have also witnessed such a spreading influence of the great truth peculiar to our faith, that no Christian sect now exists in our land, whose dogmas it has not changed or modified. Poetry receives its noblest inspiration from the prospect of the glorious future assured by Universalism; Civil Government attests its wide-felt power in every claim and demand put forth for liberty and protection, based on the manhood of our race; Philanthropy finds here alone its incitement, hopes, and consolation; Moral Science demonstrates its worth in its theories of obligation, conscience, justice, and benevolence, and in all which it presents as the highest motive to moral action; while the more subtle philosophies, and the discoveries of Natural Science, whether taught in popular story or in labored treatise, demand the 'Perfected Harmony of the Universe,' as the only satisfactory solution of the problems of life, and the possibilities of Almighty Wisdom and Love.

"Such results having been already obtained, the duties of the present are enjoined by every consideration of gratitude for the past, of advantages to be secured at once, and of the possibilities before us. And it is believed that the desire already manifest for more efficient organization, the growing interest in Church Fellowship,

the pervading zeal for greater consecration to God and Christ, and the teachings of the Holy Spirit, and the generosity which has characterized so many recent donations for Parish, Educational, and Relief Interests of our Church, are indications that the Universalists of America will not be appealed to in vain to make a proper observance of the Grand Anniversary now so near at hand.

"The Committee appeal to each and every member of the Household of Faith to do something in behalf of the objects already enumerated, and are not without hope that, at the close of the Centenary period, the aggregate amount contributed for all these purposes will reach a *million of dollars*. Such a result is possible, and it is expected that all will cheerfully do what they can to realize it.

"The new century on which we are to enter is to witness an advance of the Nation in all that is highest and noblest in political achievement, — a result never before possible to American civilization, because cursed with the barbarism of human slavery. It will also, so the signs of the times clearly indicate, witness, as its religious characteristic, the supremacy of the church whose doctrines give the most unmistakable support to its advanced civilization. All harsh and partial theologies will surely be outgrown and repudiated; and whatever puts contempt on human nature here, or intimates its hopeless ruin hereafter, will be spurned with righteous indignation. The American Church of the future, based on the divinity of Jesus Christ and his religion, firm in its conviction of the truth of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and accepting all the logical results of these for its theory of retribution and of destiny, must, whatever name it may choose to be called by, rely, for its organized effort, on those who are already faithful to these Christian doctrines.

"Universalists of America! For you the closing

century has prepared this glorious privilege of the future! Put forth the energy and zeal of well-assured faith and of consecrated life, and the results at which we aim will be provided for and secured!

"A. A. Miner, Chairman; John D. W. Joy; Joseph Day; Richard Frothingham; I. Washburn, Jr.; L. W. Ballou; J. G. Bartholomew; D. C. Tomlinson; H. F. Miller; J. S. Cantwell; J. Smith Dodge, Jr.; Wm. H. Ryder; Richard Eddy, Secretary."

The work was taken up with zealous devotion, and the following results were announced at the session of the Convention held in Gloucester, Mass., September, 1870: —

"Subscribed and paid for Murray Fund, $102,228; other Centenary Offerings, which embrace Payment of Church debts, Building of Churches, endowment of Schools and Colleges during the year, $846,309, making sum total of the year's work of $948,537."

The condition of the funds of the General Convention, as reported to the session in 1885, is: Murray Centenary Fund, $122,576.53; Theological Scholarship Fund (created by repayment of loans to theological students), $22,549.94; Church Extension Fund, $360.00; Ministerial Relief Fund, $10,187.47, making the total endowment of the General Convention $155,673.94. Add to this the total endowment of the State Conventions, the items of which are given in connection with the brief statement of the condition of Universalism in each State a few pages on, $195,365.54, making in all a working fund of $351,039.48.

It has been the policy of the General Convention since 1865 to afford pecuniary aid to worthy young

men who desire to enter the ministry and pursue a course of study in either of the theological schools connected with the Church. The appropriation for each beneficiary shall not exceed $180 per year. During the first two years of extending this aid the sums furnished were gifts to the students. Since that time each beneficiary obligates himself to repay the sum received by him "in five annual instalments, without interest, dating from his graduation." The total amount appropriated for such aid is somewhat in excess of $100,000. The loans repaid amount to over $26,000.

There have been two attempts to organize conventions having jurisdiction over two or more States. The first, called "The Western Convention," in 1827, embraced in its territory portions of Ohio and Indiana, and will be described in a special statement in regard to Ohio.

The second, the "Southern General Convention," comprised Maryland and Virginia, and was formed in Baltimore in 1835. It held a second session in Portsmouth, Va., in 1836. This is all we are able to learn of it.

In August, 1858, the "General Southern Convention of Universalists" was formed in Liberty Church, Fairfield District, S. C., by representatives from Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. It was declared in its constitution to be "subordinate to the General Convention." Sessions were held in 1859 and 1860; probably none after the last date, the war putting an end to the organization.

On the 25th of September, 1860, the Northwestern Conference was organized at Chicago, Ill. It embraced the States of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Min-

nesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin, and had for its objects a more intimate acquaintance of the preachers with each other; a better opportunity of obtaining knowledge of the condition of denominational affairs; united efforts in behalf of tract and missionary enterprise, and the more complete and efficient organization of the Universalist force in the Northwest. It assumed no powers belonging to the State Conventions nor to the General Convention, and was in no sense antagonistic to either. During the war it did excellent work through a Soldier's Mission which it established, and at the return of peace resumed its efforts for general denominational advancement. In 1868 it reported to the General Convention that it had saved to the denomination "fifty thousand dollars' worth of church property, which must have been lost had it not been for the timely aid which the Conference was able to give," and had assisted in building new churches "at an aggregate cost of more than forty thousand dollars." In aiding students at the Canton Theological School it had expended "fifteen hundred dollars." In the printing and distribution of tracts it "had expended about three hundred dollars." In addition to all this it raised $100,000 in aid of Lombard University. In 1870 the Conference surrendered its missionary work to the General Convention, and before long ceased to exist.

The Woman's Centenary Aid Association was formed at the session of the General Convention, at Buffalo, N. Y., September, 1869, to aid, as its name indicates, in raising the Murray Fund, which had then been agreed upon by the Convention. It established branches in all the States. "The total amount of money raised by

the Association was $35,974.26; the expenses were $773.73; donation to the Buffalo church, $200; put into the treasury of the General Convention for the Murray Fund, $35,000.53. Nearly 13,000 women became members, their contributions varying from $1 to $100, $200, $300, and in one case reaching as high as $1,000."

In 1871, the special work being done, the Association reorganized as the "Woman's Centenary Association;" its annual fee for members, $1; for life-members, $50; for patron, $100. Mrs. C. A. Soule was retained as President. In the second year the Association began the publication of tracts, and up to the present time sixty-eight have been published. Their titles will be found in the appended bibliography. In the fourteen years of its existence the Association has received, from all sources, about $200,000, of which it has expended $193,500, and has now on hand in cash and bonds $6,500. Since 1874 it has supported a missionary in Scotland. Mrs. M. L. Thomas, of Tacony, Pa., has been President of the Association since 1880.

In July, 1872, the "Mississippi Valley Convention" was formed at Oakland, Ky. Delegates were present from Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, and portions of Illinois and Indiana. It held two, and probably no more, meetings after its organization.

The Universalist Historical Society was formed in 1834, at the session of the General Convention held in Albany, N. Y. The object of the Society is "to collect and preserve facts pertaining to the history and condition of the doctrine of Universalism; together with books and papers having reference to the same subject." Its first President was Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D.; its

Secretary, Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D.D. Dr. Sawyer has continued to hold this position to the present. The library contains about 3,000 volumes and a large number of sermons, discussions, pamphlets, tracts, and other papers. The Society was incorporated in 1877, and is "composed of such persons interested in its objects as shall sign its By-Laws, and by the payment of One Dollar become members for one year, Life Members by the payment of Twenty Dollars at one time, Honorary Members for Life by the payment of Fifty Dollars, and Patrons by the payment of One Hundred Dollars."

At the session of the Massachusetts Convention at Hingham, in June, 1846, steps were taken towards forming "The Universalist General Reform Association," and the organization was effected at Boston in May, 1847. The Association had for its object "the collection of facts bearing upon the prevalence of the principles of Universalism in the various Reforms of the age, and the awakening of Universalists to more efficient action in behalf of those Reforms." The annual meetings of the Association were held on Thursday of anniversary week; the last meeting being in May, 1861. The published reports, resolutions, and addresses are a valuable contribution to the reform literature of the age, indicating the advanced position of the Universalist Church in regard to the various movements for peace, prison reform, abolition of slavery, temperance, and general philanthropy.[1]

[1] The pronounced attitude of the Universalist Church on the subject of temperance is related in an historical paper in "One Hundred Years of Temperance," pp. 360–367.

For the purpose of showing the general progress of Universalism since 1820, in the different States and Territories, we here take them up in their alphabetical order: —

ALABAMA. — At what time Universalism was first preached in this State we have no means of knowing. So far as we are informed, Rev. W. Atkins was the pioneer preacher, about 1832. In 1834 he organized churches at Mount Olympus and Montgomery, and about this time Rev. Messrs. L. F. W. Andrews and S. J. McMorris also entered the State. Mr. Andrews edited and published a paper. Subsequently Mr. McMorris also started a denominational journal; but of these, and others issued in Alabama, mention will be made in another place. In 1844 Rev. I. D. Williamson visited Mobile, for the benefit of his health. A fine church property was purchased, and a large congregation was gathered. A suit at law followed the purchase of the property, and by defect of title it was lost to the Universalists. In 1858 a State Convention was organized, "composed of 5 delegates from each church, and 5 from each county where no church is organized." At the breaking out of the war in 1861, there were six societies or churches, five meeting-houses, and seven preachers in the State.

During the war, and for a few years after its close, Universalism was at a low ebb and its organization badly demoralized in Alabama. It is now reviving. The State Convention was reorganized in 1870. In 1886 there are twelve parishes, eleven churches, nine church edifices, and eight resident preachers in the

State. None of the parishes are strong, either numerically or financially, and several of the church edifices are owned in common with other sects.

Arkansas. — A few years ago two churches were organized in this State, but no reports have been received from them of late.

California. — A few Universalist preachers went into this State in 1849, but the preaching was irregular for a few years. The first society was organized in San Francisco, by Rev. J. Upson, in 1854. It struggled on for several years, but finally died from injudicious and bad management. In 1857 Rev. A. C. Edmands started a monthly paper — the "Star of the Pacific" — at Marysville, and organized a society at that place. The Sacramento Association was organized in January, 1858. At that time there were societies in Marysville, Placerville, and Sacramento. A State Convention was formed in 1860, at which time there were reported three churches, one union meeting-house, and five preachers. At the session of the Convention, in 1861, the Secretary reported: —

"Universalism has been preached in nearly every town or mining-camp in the following counties, by the conjoint labors of Revs. A. C. Edmands, D. Van Alstine, and J. Phelps, viz.: Sonoma, Solano, Sacramento, Sierra Nevada, Placer, El Dorado, Amador, Calaveras and Tuolumne. There has also been preaching in the principal places of the following counties: Yolo, Yuba, Butte, Zehama, Shasta, Contra Costa, and Alameda. . . . There are already free or union meeting-houses in the following places: Dry Creek, Drytown, Fiddletown, Fairfield, San Andres, Shasta, Michigan Bluff, Ophirville, Gold Hill, North San Juan, and Green Valley."

The prospects were at that time highly flattering, but soon the agitated state of the country demanded untiring exertions to keep the people of the Pacific slope loyal to the Union; and the religious enterprises then necessarily abandoned were never vigorously prosecuted when the war was ended. In 1886 there are organizations at Riverside, Pomona, and Oakland, and three preachers are regularly employed in the State.

COLORADO. — Universalism was first preached here probably in 1874, by Rev. W. H. Hayward. A society was organized at Longmont in 1878, and at Fort Collins in 1879. Of the present condition of affairs we are not informed. There are two preachers residing in the State.

CONNECTICUT. — As already stated, Universalism was preached in Connecticut at an early day by Rev. John Murray and others. The "Providence Association," mentioned elsewhere, was organized with reference to the accommodation of preachers and societies in Connecticut as early as 1827, and occasionally held its sessions in that State. On the 9th of May, 1832, a State Convention was organized at New Haven. Thirty towns were represented at the meeting. The number of preachers was not given. It must have been soon after this that the Connecticut Association was organized, which, at its session on the 27th of April, 1836, on the suggestion of the State Convention, gave itself definite territorial limits, embracing the counties of Hartford and Litchfield, and changed its name to the "Hartford County Association." On the 22d of June, the same year, the "Southern Association," embracing the counties of Fairfield, Middlesex, and New Haven,

was organized at Danbury. On the 9th of November, the same year, the "Quinnebaug Association," comprising the counties of New London, Windham, and Toland, was organized at Norwich.

Although, as has been already shown, associations now possess no ecclesiastical authority, many still hold their annual meetings, at which questions relating to the spiritual interests of the Church are considered. The Southern and Quinnebaug Associations still exist for this purpose. At present there are in the State 19 parishes, aggregating 1,118 families; 14 churches, having 1,120 members; 15 Sunday-schools, with 1,994 officers and teachers; 17 church edifices, valued at $311,500; and 13 resident preachers. A State Missionary is employed, and the Convention has Missionary Funds amounting to $20,500, and a Ministerial Relief Fund of $2,000.

Dakota. — A parish was organized at Yankton in 1878, where meetings are held by a few friends and believers for Bible studies, and services are occasionally held on Sundays. There is one preacher residing in the Territory.

Delaware. — Late in 1865 Universalist meetings were begun in Wilmington by Rev. James Shrigley. An organization was effected, a church edifice purchased and fitted for use in 1867, and a pastor settled, the General Convention aiding the movement. The poverty of the people and the inability of the Convention, — no funds being then at their disposal, — compelled the abandonment of the field in 1869.

District of Columbia. — Universalism was preached in Washington as early as 1827 by Rev. Theophilus

Fiske, who occasionally visited the Capital for that purpose. In September, 1844, Rev. G. T. Flanders spent two weeks in Washington, and a society was then formed, but it could not have continued long. In 1853 Rev. James Shrigley spent a Sunday there, and an attempt was made to organize a society. If the attempt succeeded, — of which we have no knowledge, — the society never was very active. Not until the close of the war, in 1865, were persistent efforts for organization put forth. A parish was formed in 1869; and aided by the Church at large, it has erected and deeded to the General Convention a fine church edifice at a cost of $47,000. There are now 140 families in the parish; the church has 97 members, and the Sunday-school 118. There are four preachers residing in Washington, but the pastor of the church is the only one regularly employed.

Florida. — The "Register" for 1851 mentions Rev. J. S. Vann, convert from an Orthodox sect, as living in Florida, and one meeting-house owned in Almaranta. This is the earliest notice we are able to find of Universalism in Florida. In 1854 Mr. Vann was joined by Rev. W. J. Green, a convert from the Campbellites, and a society was organized at Alligator. In 1861 Rev. E. B. Arms moved into the State; and, aided by the labors of other preachers, two meeting-houses were erected that year. Then came the war, and all religious enterprises stood still. Probably not until 1870 was there any renewed attempt on the part of Universalists to do missionary work. Two preachers now reside in the State, and there is very little organized strength.

GEORGIA. — In the first chapter of this volume we note the proclamation of Universalism in this State the first year in the present century. The same writer in the "Universalist Union" there referred to says, that in 1826 or 1827 a number of Universalist papers were sent to several postmasters, some of whom distributed them freely, and the result was that many converts to Universalism were gained in Jones County. In the spring of 1826 Rev. Michael Smith issued a Universalist paper at Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia. It was mainly a reprint of the "Religious Inquirer," published at Hartford, Ct., with a Southern department, and did not long continue.[1] In 1832 Rev. Allen Fuller made a preaching tour in Butts, Green, Newton, Walton, and Wilkes Counties, — "a part of Georgia where few, if any, had ever promulgated the doctrine," — and found a few scattered believers. In 1833 Universalism was first preached in Henry County, and a house of worship was built.

In 1838 there were five societies and five preachers in the State; and two Associations — the Chattahoochee and Northern — were organized. A weekly paper was, for a few months, published at Macon. A State Convention was also organized. In 1861 the cause had so far progressed in Georgia that there were 8 churches, 13 meeting-houses, — some of them owned in union with other sects, — and 9 preachers. The war utterly impoverished Georgia, and recovery therefrom is slow. The Convention was reorganized in 1869, and there are now 12 parishes, 8 churches, 2 Sunday-schools, 8

[1] Modern History of Universalism, p. 423, and letter from Rev. J. C. Burruss.

church edifices, — the value of the Universalists' interest in which amounts to $4,450, — and 11 resident preachers.

IDAHO. — A parish was organized at Lewiston in 1877. It has a church of 41, and a Sunday-school of 50 members, and a church edifice valued at $2,200. At present there is one resident preacher in Idaho.

ILLINOIS. — In the "Magazine and Advocate," 1832, p. 71, we are informed that a few copies of that paper were in circulation in Illinois at that date; but it was not until three years later (1835) that the first preacher of Universalism located there. This was Rev. A. R. Gardner, who resided for a few months at Attaloo, and then made his home in Henderson for two or three years. Two years later (1837), Rev. Aaron Kinney located at Joliet.[1] The first Universalist sermon preached in Chicago was by Rev. William Queal, in the spring of 1836.[2] The "Register" for 1838 shows that before the close of the year 1837 the full number of preachers in Illinois was six, and also that a house of worship had been erected at Canton; but Rev. Mr. Rounseville, in the article above cited, says that the first house of worship was erected at St. Charles, after his removal there in 1838.

On the 1st of November, 1837, a meeting was held, pursuant to previous notice, at Canton, Fulton County, which "Voted, That we form ourselves into a State Convention." A constitution was adopted, as was also a constitution for the "Universalist Mississippi Valley Institute," the main purpose of the Institute being "to

[1] Rev. William Rounseville, in "Ladies' Repository," vol. xix. p. 244.

[2] Letter from Mr. Queal.

establish a medium whereby our friends in particular, and the community in general, may procure a general assortment of the published works of this denomination on the doctrine of universal salvation." The officers were to be appointed by, and "the revenue arising from any source shall be under the control and supervision of the 'Illinois State Convention of Universalists.'"

The Convention, as at first organized, was not a delegate body, but was composed of all Universalists, both clergymen and laymen, in the State; but provision was made that when there should be a "sufficient number of Associations formed in the State, the constitution of the Convention could be amended by a majority, providing that the Convention should be composed of delegates from the associations." In 1840 an amendment to the constitution was adopted providing that the Council should be composed of delegates from the several churches and societies in its fellowship, together with all preachers who were in good standing in the denomination and who resided in the State.

In 1841 the Fox River Association was organized; the Spoon River Association was also organized in 1841; the Putnam, in 1842; Central, 1845; Henderson River, 1845; Rock River, 1852; Southern, 1853; Pike County, 1855, — became the Mississippi Valley in 1857; Mount Zion, embracing the southern part of the Mississippi Valley Association, 1859; Big Muddy River, 1869; Lower Wabash, 1871.

In 1844 the Convention adopted a new constitution, which provided that the Council should be composed of all preachers of the denomination of good standing residing in the State, and of delegates from the

associations. In 1849 it organized a Home Missionary Society, which it worked with good effect for four years, dividing the State into two districts and employing two missionaries. This power it relinquished in 1853 to the associations. In 1852 it relinquished its power to grant letters of fellowship and to confer ordination to the associations. The constitution was again changed, or a new constitution adopted, in 1853; and in 1870 it came, by the adoption of still another constitution, under the uniform rules established by the General Convention.[1]

"The Universalist Women's Association of Illinois" was organized in 1868.

The present condition of Universalism in this State is represented thus in the "Register" for 1886: parishes, 76; families, 2,418; churches, 58; members, 2,486; Sunday-schools, 55; numbers attending, 4,605; church edifices, 57, valued at $471,450; preachers residing in the State, 51. The Fox River, Rock River, Spoon River, and Lower Wabash Associations continue their organization, and hold annual meetings. The Convention has a Missionary Fund of $3,000.

INDIANA. — The earliest mention of which we are aware of the preaching of Universalism in Indiana, is that made by Rev. Thomas Whittemore in his "Modern History of Universalism," p. 430, quoting from the letter of a preacher then engaged in that and adjoining States, dated February, 1826. Rev. Jonathan Kidwell is also mentioned by Mr. Whittemore as having been on a

[1] Most of these facts are gleaned from a paper by Edward A. Dicker, Secretary of the Illinois Convention, published in "The Universalist," Chicago, Oct. 11, 1884.

circuit embracing "seven of the eastern counties of Indiana, and nine of the western counties of Ohio," since 1826. Another early laborer in that field was Rev. Edmund B. Mann, whose home for many years was at Leavenworth, but he was actively and constantly engaged as an itinerant. The first church edifice was built at Leavenworth in 1831. In September of that year "a number of brethren from the counties of Crawford, Harrison, Perry, and Pike met in the town of Leavenworth," and organized the "First Association of Universalists of the State of Indiana." They deemed it a matter of the highest importance "that the sum of two hundred and twenty-five dollars be appropriated to the purchase of books on the subject of Universalism," for general circulation. This branch of work was continued several years, according to the "Annual Register."

In July, 1837, a State Convention was organized. It was composed of delegates from the "First Association," and from societies not in union with that Association. Other associations were organized as follows: Laughery, 1840; Northern, 1841; Western Union, Upper Wabash, and Wabash Valley, 1842; White River and Decatur, 1844; Whitewater, 1847; Rogers, 1848; St. Joseph's Valley, 1852; Elkhart, 1856; Central, 1860; Harmony, 1880.

In 1848 a new State Convention was organized, which reorganized and became incorporated in 1883. It holds real estate valued at $10,000 as a permanent Missionary Fund. "The Universalist Woman's Aid Association" was organized in 1879. There is also a State Sunday-school Convention. There are now in Indiana

50 parishes, with 972 families; 34 churches, having 2,174 members; 19 Sunday-schools, with 1,270 members; 44 church edifices, valued at $138,200; 19 preachers in fellowship, and 4 licensed lay preachers. The Upper Wabash, Central, Elkhart, Whitewater, and Rogers Associations retain their organization.

Iowa. — Rev. A. R. Gardner, who removed from Henderson, Ill., to Iowa City, Ia., in 1837 or 1838, was probably the first Universalist preacher to visit this State. The State donated a lot of land in Iowa City to the Universalists, on condition that they erect a good meeting-house on the same, well finished, by July 31, 1843. The condition was complied with, and the building was dedicated Dec. 24, 1843. The day preceding the dedication a State Convention was organized at the same place. Its delegates were from societies, no associations being then formed. In a few years it was changed to a "State General Association," but after a year's experience it became a State Convention again. In a short time the following Associations were formed: Turkey River, Mississippi Valley, Des Moines Valley. In 1860 the Clayton County Association was organized, to aid in building churches in destitute places.

There are at present in Iowa 36 parishes, having 977 families; 24 churches, with 723 members; 16 Sunday-schools, with 948 members; 24 church edifices, valued at $109,500; and 23 resident preachers. The Convention has a Missionary Fund of $150.

Kansas. — The first preaching of Universalism in Kansas was probably by Rev. E. Manford, while a resident of St. Louis, Mo., in 1858. Through his instru-

mentality churches were organized in Wyandotte and Leavenworth as early as 1859. Revs. T. J. Carney and D. G. Campbell resided in the State a short time before the war, and were active workers. The field was nearly, if not quite, deserted during the war. In 1869 a State Convention was organized. The first church edifice was erected that year at Seneca. There are now 15 parishes, having 352 families; 10 churches, with 301 members; 7 Sunday-schools, with 390 scholars; 6 church edifices, valued at $26,200; and 18 resident preachers.

Kentucky. — In addition to what has been said in vol. i. pp. 409–411, and in the third chapter of this volume, our information in regard to Kentucky is, that a State Convention was organized, May 13, 1843, "composed of three lay delegates from each Society or Church, and of all fellowshipped Ministers in good standing in the State." Licking River Association was formed in 1844; Green River and Murray, in 1845; Pingree, in 1850. With the exception of the latter, these associations died during the war. In 1875 the Pingree Association relinquished its authority, and a State Convention was organized. There are now 8 parishes, with 279 families; 7 churches, with 421 members; and 5 resident preachers.

Louisiana. — Rev. D. M. Cole visited New Orleans in December, 1823, and gave public notice that he should, on the coming Sabbath, preach a discourse in favor of Universalism in the Market-house. The Mayor of the city sent word that if Mr. Cole attempted to preach in that public manner, he would be fined and imprisoned. He preached; but the officers deputed to

arrest him came too late. A convenient house was procured for the next Sabbath, but the Mayor interfered, and ordered the owner not to open his doors, stating that Mr. Cole would be arrested if he attempted to preach, except on board of some vessel in the river. Those who felt interested accordingly went on board a vessel, and the meeting was holden there. The Mayor's course was severely censured in the columns of the "Evening Post," and there was no further opposition.[1]

On the first Sabbath in July, 1834, Rev. Theodore Clapp, who had been pastor of a Presbyterian Church in New Orleans since March, 1822, publicly renounced the doctrine of eternal punishment, and, with the great majority of his congregation, adopted the Universalist belief. He was deposed from the presbytery; but his church stood by and sustained him. In 1857 Mr. Clapp was succeeded by Rev. E. C. Bolles.

In 1870 a Universalist church was built by Mrs. Sarah Miller, at Minden, and later a church organization was effected at Summerfield. At present there is no active Universalist organization in Louisiana. The church at New Orleans, though composed of Unitarians and Universalists, and at present employing a Unitarian preacher, is independent.

Maine. — Of the planting of Universalism in Maine, the organization and work of the Eastern Association, we have already spoken in vol. i. (pp. 515–520) and in various places in this volume. But as the early records of that Association are lost or destroyed, and the published proceedings from time to time are meagre in information, being for the most part a record of the

[1] Modern History of Universalism, pp. 425, 426.

routine of business, we know but little of its work in spreading the cause. As a District in the State of Massachusetts, Maine was for many years distracted by local political controversies, growing out of its dependence, which interfered with religious inquiries and organization; and subject to the laws of the State in regard to religious organizations, its parishes were hostile to what were called the "sectaries." In Falmouth, in Turner, and perhaps in some other localities, the Universalists were compelled to support, pecuniarily, the "Standing Order," and were otherwise annoyed by the hostility of those who were protected by the law. Rev. Thomas Barns brought a suit against the parish of Falmouth to obtain the repayment of moneys collected from his hearers. After being tried in the lower court and decided against him, the decision was affirmed in the Supreme Court in 1811, on the ground that Mr. Barns's supporters were not an incorporated organization. The counsel for the defendant also made the argument which, as we have before seen, was the basis of the decision in the New Hampshire cases, that denominational differences were not to be determined by doctrines, but by ecclesiastical government; and as the Universalists were congregational in their mode of government, they were not a different sect from the Congregationalists! Not until 1820 was much interest in Universalism manifest in Maine, then just organized as an independent State. To Rev. Messrs. Streeter and Cobb, as stated in a previous chapter, and to Rev. William A. Drew, editor of the "Christian Intelligencer," and subsequently of the "Gospel Banner," the impetus of its success is largely due.

At the session of the "Eastern Association," at Lewiston, June 24, 1828, it was determined to change its name and character to a State Convention; to appoint four minor organizations, viz.: the "York, Cumberland, and Oxford;" the "Kennebec," the "Penobscot," and "Washington." The Convention to be composed of all the clergy in fellowship, and of six lay delegates from each association.

At the session, in 1829, the following declaration of faith was prefixed to the Constitution: —

"We believe in One God, infinite in wisdom, power and goodness; the Almighty Creator, Preserver and Redeemer of all men; and that He has not only displayed His glorious character in nature, but also more fully and clearly revealed His divine perfections, His gracious will and purpose, in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; particularly in revealing the doctrine of the resurrection of all men from the dead through the mediation of Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Saviour, whereby life and immortality are brought to light through the Gospel.

"We believe all men are amenable to the Law of God according to the degree of light with which they are blessed; and that as professors of the Christian Religion, we are under obligation to obey the precepts and commands of Jesus Christ as recorded by men under the direction of the Holy Spirit.

"We believe that Jesus Christ, our risen and ascended Lord and Saviour, will ultimately see the travail of his soul and be satisfied, and in the dispensation of the fulness of times gather together in one all things in himself, both which are in heaven and which are on the earth. Amen."

In 1837 the Somerset Association was organized; and in 1838 the Waldo and Lincoln, and the Hancock and Washington Associations came into being. The "Universalist Educational Association" for the State was organized in 1839, "to promote education, and to guard it from the influences of opposing sectarians." A State Sunday-School Association and a State Tract Society were organized in 1842. The Piscataquis, Eastern (formerly the Hancock and Washington), and Oxford Associations were organized about this time. Subsequently, say about 1859, the Convention remodelled the associations, and reduced the number to six. In 1862 the Convention obtained an act of incorporation.

There are now 94 parishes, with 4,356 families; 41 churches, having 1,621 members; 70 Sunday-schools, with 7,920 members; 81 church edifices, valued at $570,700; and 39 resident preachers. The Convention has the following funds: Missionary, $1,112; Educational, $539; Ministerial Relief, $411.

Maryland. — In the Baltimore "Evening Post," June 9, 1809, notice is given that an "interesting enquiry, which has already undergone three evenings' discussion, will be resumed next Saturday evening at the Pantheon." The question was, "Is the doctrine of eternal punishment consistent with reason and Scripture?" The mover in this discussion was Francis Guy, an artist; and free use of the columns of the "Evening Post" for the advocacy and defence of Universalism was given him during June and July. Several of the clergy of Baltimore attacked his arguments.

In the winter of 1830–31 Rev. Paul Dean visited

Baltimore and organized a society. In the summer of 1831 Rev. O. A. Skinner became its pastor. Their place of worship was a neat church in St. Paul Street, called the Branch Tabernacle, built and owned by an eccentric man by the name of Warfield, of whom the society rented it. The owner being liable to dispossess them at any time, the society, in 1835, purchased a lot, and, obtaining subscriptions to the amount of $12,000, selected a plan of a handsome house that would seat about one thousand people. A change of pastor at this time, necessitated by Mr. Skinner's poor health, changed this plan, and the society burdened itself with debt in erecting a larger edifice. After a long and severe struggle this debt was paid under the ministry of Rev. J. M. Cook, in 1850.

In 1835 a church edifice was erected at Woodsboro', which was maliciously destroyed in 1860. A church edifice erected at Elkton, in 1840, has long been occupied, by lease to the Commissioners of Cecil County, as a public school-house. A Miss Randall also erected a church edifice at Randallstown in 1854. Another parish was organized and church erected in Baltimore about 1877. At present the only active parish in the State is the oldest one in Baltimore. It has 130 families, 224 church members, and 268 in its Sunday-school.

Massachusetts. — In the first volume we have related the story of the early planting of Universalism in this State. The associations in Massachusetts were formed: Southern, 1816, changed its name to Union in 1834; Old Colony, 1827; Boston, 1829; Barnstable, 1838; Winchester, 1839; Norfolk County, 1847. The initial step in the formation of a State Convention was

taken by the Boston Association, at its session in 1832, by the appointment of a committee to confer on the subject with the Old Colony Association at its next meeting. It being deemed advisable by these two bodies, a preliminary meeting was held in Boston in June, 1834. A temporary organization was made, and a committee appointed to draft a constitution reported in a few days, at an adjourned meeting held in Lynn, a form of government, which was adopted, and the organization was thus effected.

At first the Convention exercised the power of fellowship and discipline already exercised by the associations. In 1842 it surrendered this power exclusively to the associations. The Convention thus became an organization without any powers, which it sought to remedy by the adoption of a constitution in 1845 ; but its purpose was defeated, and nothing in this direction was accomplished until 1859. Meanwhile other State denominational organizations had been created, — the Sunday-school Association, in 1837, and the Massachusetts Universalist Home Missionary Society, incorporated in 1851.

After preliminary meetings for conference held by the officers of the Convention, Sunday-school Association, and Missionary Society, a special session of the Convention was held Oct. 20, 1858, at which arrangements were made for a reorganization, merging the Sunday-school and Missionary bodies into the Convention. The reorganization was effected in June, 1859, the Convention receiving an act of incorporation from the State. The Convention was composed, according to its by-laws, "of the Universalist Societies, Sun-

day Schools, and Ordained Clergymen in Massachusetts, now in fellowship of the several Associations." Its council for the transaction of business was made up "of the ordained Clergymen in the fellowship of the Convention, of Life Members in the State, one lay delegate from each Society in fellowship, one lay delegate from each School in fellowship, and of the officers of the Convention." It also appointed a committee on fellowship, ordination, and discipline; and the Board of Government was instructed to "communicate with the several Associations of the State, advising them of the organization of this Convention, and asking them so to change their rules as to conform to the By-Laws of this body." Three of the associations at once complied, two postponed final action, and one advised its societies and preachers to "stand aloof from the new organization." After a while these opposing elements subsided and the Convention became the sole legislative body. Five associations are still in existence and meet for religious conference, — the Old Colony, Boston, Union, Barnstable, and Winchester. The churches in the Merrimac Valley also have an organization called "a Conference," which meets once a year, with each parish in the Conference.

The Sunday-school interests, in several sections of the State, are served by Sunday-school unions, the oldest of which, called the "Universalist Sabbath School Union," organized in 1851, and including the nineteen schools in Boston, Cambridge, Chelsea, Somerville, and College Hill, has an aggregate membership of 3,776, and a permanent fund amounting to $10,161. The Middlesex Union includes six schools, — Arling-

ton, Malden, Medford, Melrose, Saugus, and Wakefield, — and meets quarterly. It has recently enlarged the scope of its work, and changed its name to that of "The Middlesex Conference of Churches, Parishes, and Sunday-schools." The Essex Union includes all the Sunday-schools in Essex County. "The Woman's Universalist Missionary Society of Massachusetts" was incorporated in January, 1886. Its object is, "to enlist the women of the Universalist Church in Massachusetts in mission work, in the distribution of religious literature, in the cause of education by aiding deserving persons to obtain the same, and further to aid and assist in such religious charities as the Society may find to be useful and expedient." The annual fee for membership is one dollar, and life membership is obtained on the payment of twenty dollars. In its local work it is auxiliary to the State Convention; and in its enterprises in other States and Territories, to the General Convention.

The State Convention has a Missionary Fund of $36,000, and a Ministerial Relief Fund of $6,680. There are in its territory 117 parishes, aggregating 8,797 families; 83 churches, having 5,773 members; 97 Sunday-schools, with 14,641 members; 96 church edifices, valued at $1,946,115; and 118 resident preachers.

Michigan. — Universalism was first preached in Michigan in 1829 or 1830. In August, 1830, according to a letter published in the "Magazine and Advocate," September 4, that year, a society was organized at Pontiac, Oakland County. They agreed to meet together every Sabbath, to "have devotional services and read sermons whenever Bros. Wisner and Irish cannot

labor with us." Morgan L. Wisner and Thomas Irish were, we infer from this, preachers; but we have no further knowledge of them. Rev. Messrs. L. Knapp, P. Morse, K. Townsend, and R. Tomlinson itinerated more or less in various portions of the Territory. Rev. A. H. Curtis settled in Adrian in November, 1833, and organized a society there, and one at Ann Arbor in 1834. Associations were organized: Central, 1836; Kalamazoo River, 1841; Southern, 1848; Southwestern, 1863. A State Convention was organized in 1843, and a State Sunday-School Association in 1870. The first church edifice was erected at Ann Arbor, dedicated in the spring of 1835.

The present denominational strength in Michigan is represented in 28 parishes, having 1,176 families; 21 churches, with 1,079 members; 23 Sunday-schools, with 1,414 members; 28 church edifices, valued at $186,300; and 23 resident preachers. The Convention has a Ministerial Relief Fund of $267.

MINNESOTA. — Universalism was first preached in this State in the summer of 1852 by Rev. E. A. Hodsdon, at St. Paul and St. Anthony. Mr. Hodsdon began to preach in 1846 at Castine, Me., and was never in formal fellowship. The first organization in the State was at St. Anthony, and probably was effected not long after Mr. Hodsdon commenced his labors there. In the summer of 1855 Rev. Seth Barnes took charge of the parish at St. Anthony, and for the remaining eleven years of his life was the pioneer of Universalism in other portions of the State. A State Convention was formed in 1860, at which time, according to the "Register," there were three societies and six resident

preachers. The Convention reorganized in 1866 at St. Paul under the general law of the State for incorporating societies for benevolent, charitable, scientific, and missionary purposes.

There are now 11 parishes, with 618 families; 5 churches, with 350 members; 6 Sunday-schools, with 718 members; and 8 church edifices, valued at $138,000. The Convention has a Permanent Fund of about $550.

Missouri. — Who were the pioneers of Universalism in this State, is unknown. As early as 1837 or 1838, Rev. J. P. Fuller organized a church in Troy; and from the fact that the members were admitted by immersion, we infer that it was in a Dunkard community, — as many Dunkards believed and openly preached the doctrine of Universalism. The Northwestern Association was organized in 1860; Big Muddy River Association, in 1869. A State Convention was formed in 1868. There are now 7 parishes, with 59 families; 6 churches, with 96 members; 1 church edifice, valued at $1,400; and 10 resident preachers.

Mississippi. — To the best of our knowledge, Universalism was first preached in this State by Rev. S. J. McMorris, in 1840 or 1841, during his temporary residence in Starkville. Before the war two societies had been organized, and four preachers were residing in the State. A Convention was formed in 1859. At present there is but little organized Universalism. A church of sixteen members, formed at Vickland in 1881, and another of twenty members, formed at Webster in 1885, is about all. There is no preacher residing in the State.

NEBRASKA. — The first Universalist preacher in this State was probably Rev. J. N. Parker, who resided in Lincoln in 1868, but was chiefly engaged in secular business. A parish was organized in Lincoln in 1871, and a lot was given by the State on condition that a church edifice should be erected within two years. The condition was complied with. A State Conference was formed in 1880. There are now 4 parishes, having 71 families; 3 churches, with 38 members; 3 Sunday-schools, with 168 members; 4 church edifices, valued at $12,800; and 3 resident preachers. Measures for the organization of a State Convention have been inaugurated.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. — Of the planting of Universalism in this State and the labors of the early preachers, we have spoken at length in vol. i., and in earlier chapters in this volume have shown what legal obstacles were placed in their way. In 1824 two Associations were organized, — the New Hampshire, in June, which in 1836 took the name of the Merrimac River, and the Rockingham, in August. The Connecticut River Association was formed in 1833, and the Grafton and Cheshire County, in 1834; the Strafford County, in 1836; the Sullivan, in 1843. The State Convention was organized in 1832; a State Sunday-School Association, in 1843; and a State Missionary Society, in 1855. At the present time there are 36 parishes, with 1,836 families; 18 churches, with 893 members; 28 Sunday-schools, with 1,856 members; 23 church edifices, valued at $213,200; and 18 resident preachers. The Convention has a Missionary Fund of $587.

NEW JERSEY. — In this State (see vol. i.) Mr. Murray began his career as a Universalist preacher,

and here societies were early formed, and for several years were represented in the Philadelphia Convention, 1790–1809. After that period not much was undertaken for the organization of churches until 1834, although meetings were occasionally held in various parts of the State. The Baptist Church at Hightstown, N. J., passed, by purchase, into the hands of the Universalists in 1834. The same year, according to the "Register" for 1836, a society was organized in Newark. Previous to this an effort was made to establish the cause at Middleville and also at New Brunswick, but with only temporary success. From 1828 until 1845, the State was within the bounds of the New York and Philadelphia Association, but in the summer of the latter year a State Convention was formed. There are now 8 parishes, having 327 families; 4 churches, with 260 members; 4 Sunday-schools, with 492 members; 6 church edifices, valued at $108,500; and other property valued at $19,000. A memorial church in honor of Thomas Potter, the early friend of Rev. John Murray, was dedicated in 1885.

New York. — We have already brought down the history of Universalism in this State to the year 1820 with considerable minuteness, so far as that history was comprised in the bounds of the Western Association, organized in 1806, and the Genesee Branch Association, organized in 1814, and have also written at length on the planting of Universalism in the city of New York by the organization of the Society of United Christian Friends in 1796, and its growth under the ministry of Rev. Edward Mitchell. For particulars relating to its subsequent fortunes and growth in the

city, we refer the reader to chapters xii.–xiv. of "A Century of Universalism," by Abel C. Thomas. We merely attempt here a brief sketch of the general progress of the denomination in the State.

The Chenango Association was organized in August, the Cayuga in September, and the Black River in October, 1823; the Chautauque in August, and the Hudson River in November, 1825. The rapid increase of these Associations suggested the desirability of a State Convention, and at a meeting of the Western Association in 1825, a committee was appointed to draft a constitution of a Convention. The committee reported, and delegates were duly appointed to attend its first session in May of the next year. The Convention was to be composed of two clerical delegates from each Association. At the first annual session in 1826, the constitution was amended, providing that the Convention should be "composed exclusively of delegates, consisting of ordained ministers of good standing, to be chosen annually from each Association now existing, or which may hereafter be formed, within the State of New York, or such other Associations as may wish to come under its jurisdiction, provided each Association have the privilege of sending five delegates, and five of said delegates, when duly assembled, shall form a quorum to transact business."

The exclusion of lay delegates caused contention; and the Western Association, having, in 1826, changed its name to "Central," and fixed its limits to the counties of Madison, Oneida, Otsego, Herkimer, Montgomery, Schoharie, and Schenectady, refused to approve the constitution of the Convention. Whereupon a new body,

comprising parts of Oneida, Herkimer, and Lewis Counties was organized, called the "Conventional Association." Opposition finally became so intense that in 1828 a new constitution was adopted, and the Convention was made to "consist of delegates chosen annually from the respective Associations in this State, not exceeding four from each; one half of whom may be lay delegates, at the discretion of the Associations; and five when assembled shall constitute a quorum to do business." It assumed no powers and claimed no authority, "except to advise or recommend." Rev. Dolphus Skinner, the clerk, in the Circular Letter accompanying the published constitution, said: "It has the right of withdrawing fellowship from Associations; and Associations have the right of withdrawing from its fellowship: so that the door into it and out of it, is of the same width." The Central, Black River, Conventional, Chenango, and Hudson River Associations at once approved; and the Conventional, on the recommendation of the State Convention, changed its name to the "Mohawk Association," and defined its limits as comprising "that part of the counties of Oneida, Herkimer, and Montgomery, lying north and east of the Mohawk River." Other Associations were tardy in giving their approval, and not until 1845 did they all send delegates.

Additional Associations were formed as follows: St. Lawrence, 1828; Niagara, 1831; Erie — changed to Genesee in 1834 — and Chautauque were set off from the Niagara in 1833; the Genesee — formed in 1814 — divided its territory, dropped its old name, and organized the Ontario and Steuben in 1834; Otsego, 1834; Alleghany and New York, 1835; Buffalo, 1845.

A State Sunday-School Association was formed in 1842; a Sunday-School Convention for Western New York, in 1862; and a similar Convention for Central New York, in 1865. A State Educational Society, of which more will be said in another place, was formed in 1852.

Cornelius Harsen, of the city of New York, died in 1838, and directed in his will that after the decease of his wife the sum of $6,000 should be paid to the Convention, the interest thereof to be applied to the use and benefit of sick and infirm clergymen, and of the widows and orphans of deceased clergymen who, previous to their death, were in fellowship with the Convention. His widow died in 1843, and the fund was made available in 1845. It now — other gifts having been added to it from time to time — amounts to $46,000. The Convention has a Missionary Fund of about $50,000.

There are in the State at the present time 155 parishes, with 6,620 families; 111 churches, with 6,349 members; 99 Sunday-schools, with 8,008 members; 140 church edifices, valued at $1,604,800; and 95 resident preachers.

North Carolina. — In 1823 or 1824, the Rev. Mr. Cole, of whom we have spoken in connection with Universalism in Louisiana, preached several times in this State. He was followed in 1825 by Rev. Abner Kneeland, then of Philadelphia, who preached often during a four weeks' stay in Wilmington; and on his homeward trip preached in the counties of Duplin, Hanover, and Wayne. At his solicitation, Rev. Jacob Frieze, of Rhode Island, went to Wilmington, where a large so-

ciety was gathered. He also labored with great zeal and success in various parts of the State. Mr. Frieze remained in Wilmington about two years, during which time (June, 1827) a State Convention was formed, which, perhaps, held one session after its organization. In 1836 Rev. James Parsons, who is well spoken of, preached several months in the State. In 1845 Mr. Frieze returned to Wilmington for a short time, and at his solicitation Rev. J. C. Burruss visited the State, and assisted in the reorganization of the Convention in 1846. Mr. Burruss remained in the State three or four years. In 1861 there were 6 churches, 2 resident preachers, 4 church edifices, owned wholly by Universalists, and 22 known as free, in which they had an interest. Since the close of the war very little work has been attempted in the way of reorganization, though there are several preaching stations which are being frequently visited. The organized parishes are 3, with 190 families; churches, 3, with 156 members; 1 Sunday-school of 60 members; and 3 church edifices, valued at $1,000.

Ohio. — In the brief sketch of the life of Rev. Timothy Bigelow, in the second chapter of this volume, mention is made of his removal to Ohio in 1814. In 1816, December 24, "The First Universalist Religious Society in Marietta" was organized. Its principal object was "to promote the cause of morality and religion, by setting on foot a Library, to be procured and sustained by the funds arising from section No. 29 of said township, devoted to ministerial purposes." In the neighboring town of Belpre a Universalist Society was formed January 19, 1824. The earliest preachers of

Universalism in that region were Revs. A. Stearns, Abel M. Sergeant, and Daniel Parker.[1]

In the field occupied by Rev. Mr. Bigelow, the cause flourished with wonderful vigor. September 4, 1821, a meeting was held at Palmyra, Portage County, which was attended by Rev. Messrs. T. Bigelow, C. Rogers, N. B. Johnson, and R. Jones; lay representatives from eleven churches and sixteen societies, and "twenty-two representatives from different places where there are no regular societies." The eleven churches and sixteen societies were received into fellowship. Rev. Messrs. "Ebenezer Williams and Chandler Rogers, were ordained as ministers at large, and a letter of Fellowship was granted to Rev. Lemuel Graham as minister at large." Six laymen "were ordained as deacons in the several churches to which they belong." In the "General Epistle of the Northern Ohio Universalian Association," then organized, Rev. T. Bigelow, "Presiding Elder," said: —

"Brethren, your whole number, seven years ago, that believed in the Universal love of God, did not exceed twenty; and at this time, on the same ground, your numbers are more than fifteen hundred, who can witness that your heavenly Father is good unto all, and his tender mercies are over all the works of his hands. Besides this, there is a large body of brethren still further to the west, with hearts lifted to heaven, and are anxiously looking for your brethren in the ministry that are now with you; and we expect to be with them in one week from this time, to form them into an Association."[2]

[1] Magazine and Advocate, 1843, p. 356.

[2] Universalist Magazine, vol. iii., 1821, p. 100.

This was the Richland Association. In 1824 the Central Association was formed; in 1833 the Western Reserve; in 1834 the Washington; in 1835 the Miami; in 1836 the Murray; in 1840 the Montgomery; 1841 the Huron; 1842 the Scioto, Winchester, and Ballou; 1845 the Maumee River and the Gallia; 1860 the Northwestern.

The State Convention grew out of a meeting held in the Union Meeting House, two miles from Franklin, Warren County, October 12–14, 1827. They adopted no constitution, but called themselves, "The Convention of Universalists of the Western States." The standing clerk, A. H. Longley, appointed in 1828, adds in a foot-note to the record: "Although these are the first minutes of any convention held in the Western States, on record, I believe, however, that the convention was organized a year before at Jacksonburg, Ohio."

Mr. Whittemore says: —

"A Convention of Universalists convened in Jacksonburg, Butler County, in November, 1826. William D. Jones, Moderator; Findley Moore, Clerk. The circular letter from the 'Middle Ohio Association' was read, and delegates appointed to attend it in Chillicothe in September, 1827. The preachers present on this occasion were James Alfred, Jonathan Kidwell, and Daniel St. John." [1]

In 1830 the Convention adopted a constitution, in which they style themselves, "The Western Convention of Universalists." Action was also taken in regard to an itinerant ministry in the Western States, and a

[1] Modern History of Universalism, p. 429.

committee was appointed to raise funds for the purpose, and to engage itinerants. In 1833 the constitution was revised and by-laws adopted, and the name was changed to the "General Convention of Universalists of the Western States." In 1837 the name was again changed to the "Ohio State Convention of Universalists." A new constitution was adopted in 1841; another in 1853, and the Convention became incorporated under the general laws of Ohio. A Sunday-School Convention was formed in 1867; a Ministerial Association in 1868, which became incorporated in 1874. The Convention has a Missionary Fund of $1,000.

The statistical statement in regard to Universalism in Ohio at the present time is, 98 parishes, having 2,491 families; 79 churches, with 4,662 members; 44 Sunday-schools, with 3,047 members; 81 church edifices, valued at $286,580; and 36 resident preachers.

Oregon. —The first Universalist sermon preached in Oregon is said to have been by Olney Fry, a zealous layman, probably in 1868. A church of 22 members was formed at Harrisburg, in 1869. The first ordained preacher in Oregon was Rev. Abial Morrison, in 1871. A State Convention was organized in 1874, at which time there were six churches reported, with an aggregate of 183 members, and one church edifice, valued at $2,500. The Convention has jurisdiction over the churches and preachers in Washington Territory. The "Register" for 1886 reports four parishes, two church edifices, and five resident preachers.

Pennsylvania. — The early history of our faith in this State has been given extensively in this work, in connection with an account of the Philadelphia Con-

vention. The early part of the ministry of Rev. A. Kneeland, in Philadelphia, promoted the cause there, and a second, subsequently the Callowhill Street Church, was organized in 1820. In 1825 Rev. Charles R. Marsh came from Vermont, and settled in Susquehanna County, forming several churches, and establishing a religious journal. He died at an early age in 1828. About 1829, through the indefatigable zeal of Rev. Messrs. A. C. Thomas and A. B. Grosh, Universalism was also carried to the interior of the State, and churches were organized in Marietta and Reading. Rev. Jacob Myers, of Lancaster County, a preacher among the German Baptists, embraced Universalism, and began to preach it in the German tongue in 1828. Shortly after Rev. Samuel Longenecker joined Mr. Myers, and as both spoke equally well in the German and the English, they did a good work among the German population. At Wolmensdorf, Marietta, and Reamstown, they gathered congregations and formed temporary organizations.

The New York and Philadelphia Association was organized in 1829; in 1831 its name was changed to the Philadelphia Association. Other Associations were formed: the Union, 1834; Susquehanna, 1835; Pittsburg, 1837; Lake Erie, 1838; North Branch, 1842; Stacy, 1859. In 1851 the Philadelphia and Union Associations united, and took the name of the Philadelphia Union.

A State Convention was organized in 1832, and a Missionary, Educational, and Tract Association in 1853. A Missionary Society was formed in connection with the Philadelphia Union Association in 1852. Its funds

have since been transferred to the State Convention, whose permanent Missionary Fund is now upwards of $10,000. There are at present in this State 38 parishes, with 1,288 families; 29 churches, with 1,669 members; 19 Sunday-schools, with 2,030 members; 21 church edifices, valued at $226,200; and 17 resident preachers. A State missionary is employed.

Rhode Island. — Rev. John Murray frequently preached in Providence, Newport, and other places in Rhode Island, and Rev. Elhanan Winchester spent some time in Providence, as mentioned in vol. i. After their day the cause slumbered in this State, but was revived in 1820 by the occasional preaching of Rev. Richard Carrique, then residing in Attleborough, Mass. On the 10th of April, 1821, a society was organized in Providence. In 1827 an organization was effected in the village of Pawtucket, and incorporated as the "First Universalist Society in North Providence." At Woonsocket Falls a society was formed in April, 1829. The Providence Association was formed in 1827, as already shown. A State Convention was organized in 1838, at which time there were four societies. A Tract Society was formed, which issued a large number of useful tracts, and a State Missionary Society was organized. The State Convention was reorganized and incorporated in 1861. In 1865 it published "A Christian Catechism for Instruction in Doctrine and Duty," a very comprehensive summary of Universalism, which has been extensively circulated. At present there are in Rhode Island 7 parishes, with 804 families; 6 churches, having 784 members; 8 Sunday-schools, with 1,586 members; 9 church edifices, valued at $297,300;

and 8 resident preachers. The Convention has a Missionary Fund of $3,000, and a Ministerial Relief Fund of $500.

South Carolina. — Of the early labors of Rev. Giles Chapman, and of the work begun by Rev. Elijah Lynch, we have already spoken. In 1830 societies were formed in Newberry and Fairfield districts, and a Trinitarian Society, which called itself the "Association of the Primitive Apostolic Church of Trinitarian Universalists in the City of Charleston," was organized in January, 1829. This movement grew out of occasional meetings from 1819 on, of a few gentlemen at the office of Dr. J. L. E. W. Shecut. In 1824 they attempted an organization, but were prevented by violent opposition. In 1827 three gentlemen privately formed the "Association of Universalists in Charleston," and from that till the more public organization weekly meetings were held at Dr. Shecut's office. For six weeks in January and February, 1830, they had the services of Rev. Paul Dean, of Boston, and their meetings were public. In March and April Rev. Lemuel Willis preached to them.[1]

A State Convention was formed in November, 1830. Delegates were present from societies in Lexington, Charleston, Newberry, Fairfield, and Laurens District. Dr. Shecut was present as a preacher, and also Rev. E. Lynch. In 1831 Rev. A. Fuller was induced by the Convention to come into the State as an itinerant. He labored with great success many years. Since the late war it has not been found possible to gather up the scattered fragments of our churches in this State. A church organized at Feasterville in 1877 has 40 fami-

[1] Magazine and Advocate, 1831, p. 171.

lies, 52 members, a Sunday-school of 35, and a small church edifice. There are only two preachers residing in the State.

TENNESSEE. — No little stir was made in this State by the conversion to Universalism of Rev. W. Low in 1841, and Rev. M. P. Fisher, of the Methodist Church, in 1842, and the expulsion of Mr. C. Nance from the Presbyterians, at Nashville, in 1843, for believing in Universalism. In 1844 Rev. C. F. R. Shehane itinerated in the State several months. In 1850 the "Register" reported a society and house of worship at Memphis. We know of no organization now except at Free Hill, Washington County, where a small church was organized by Dr. Wm. Hale, a lay preacher of that place, in 1880. Dr. Hale itinerates in several sections of East Tennessee. The Universalists have a pecuniary interest in church edifices at Glimpsville and Free Hill.

TEXAS. — Not a little missionary work was done in this State from 1850 to 1861, and at the latter date announcement was made that a State Convention was about to be organized. The coming on of the war probably prevented. Since the close of the war the State has been merely a missionary field. The oldest parish is in Williamson County, and was formed in 1855. There are five more, organized since 1875, — most of them since 1881. The six report 163 church members, and three Sunday-schools, with 175 members. Rev. James Billings is the State missionary, and there are, including two licensed lay preachers, thirteen resident preachers.

VERMONT. — What has been said of the early history of Universalism in Maine applies with equal force to

its history in Vermont. The early published minutes of the Northern Association are little except records of routine business. We have very little knowledge in regard to the organization of churches or societies, and almost as little of the fields of labor of the preachers from 1795 to 1820. At the latter date there were ten preachers in the State and quite a large number of preaching stations. By 1829 there were about fifty organized societies and twenty preachers. The Northern Association, as we have already seen, was formed in 1804; the Franklin, 1822; the Green Mountain, 1829; Lamoille, 1833, became the Champlain in 1837; Windham and Bennington, 1834; Central, 1848. The State Convention was organized in 1833, and a Home Missionary Society was formed about 1856.

There are now in Vermont 53 parishes, with 2,128 families; 30 churches, with 1,362 families; 38 Sunday-schools, with 2,781 members; 39 church edifices, valued at $210,000; and 34 resident preachers. The Convention has a small Missionary Fund of $400.

Virginia. — It was shown in vol. i., and also in the chapters in this volume treating of the Philadelphia Convention, that Universalism was known and proclaimed in Virginia at an early day. Since 1820 we note the following: perhaps about 1825 Rev. Edward Mitchell visited Richmond and other parts of the State, preaching to great acceptance, but effecting no organization. Rev. Mr. Hagadorn labored in Richmond about six months, but with no better success as to organization. In the summer of 1830 Rev. John B. Dods spent ten weeks at the capital, and brought the scattered believers together, who organized that year as the "Uni-

tarian Universalist Society." Mr. Dods was called to the pastorate, but declined, and recommended Rev. J. B. Pitkin, who became the pastor. By personal solicitations Mr. Dods obtained donations to the amount of about $1,800, which "was sufficient to purchase a lot and many of the materials for building."[1] The church edifice was completed in 1833, and was dedicated as the "First Independent Christian Church." In 1838 the society changed its name to "The First Independent Christian Society."

A Convention was formed in 1835, but the published minutes do not show of what societies, nor of how many it was composed. It did not continue long, as another was organized in 1844. At this time there were three societies in the State. No Universalist preacher now resides in Virginia; and since the close of the war our cause has been dormant in that State. The society at Richmond still keeps its legal existence, and its church edifice, valued at $10,000, is in fair condition.

Washington Territory. — There are four organized churches in this Territory, — Dayton, formed in 1876, with 120 members; Dry Creek, 1877, with 15 members; Walla Walla River, 1877, with 19 members; and Weston, 1877, with 25 members. There is a church edifice at Walla Walla River, valued at $2,000. These churches are all connected with the Oregon State Convention. At present no preacher resides in the Territory.

West Virginia. — How much had been done for the spread of Universalism in this State, while it formed

[1] Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate, 1833, p. 140.

part of the old State of Virginia, we do not know. That zealous and able pioneer, Rev. George Rogers, was certainly at Wheeling, preaching to large congregations, as early as 1843.[1] The earliest organization, so far as we are informed, was at Fork Ridge, in 1860. There must have been no little unorganized Universalism in that region long before that date. The facts in the case are difficult to obtain. A State Convention was organized in 1868. The Halcyonists, many of whom were Universalists, were in that region as early as 1816, and doubtless, although the sect long since died out, the leaven of their doctrine remained, and made the work of propagating Universalism comparatively easy. Through the self-sacrificing efforts of one or two pioneer preachers, nine parishes had been organized by the year 1874, and several preaching-stations had been established; but on account of the people being "so scattered and few and crippled by poverty," it is difficult to support the churches. Rev. S. P. Carlton, of Ohio, supplies the church at Fork Ridge at regular intervals, and also preaches occasionally at Weston. Two preachers reside in the State and preach occasionally.

Wisconsin. — The "Register" for 1840 mentions that a preacher, Rev. L. Harris, was residing at Troy. We have seen no earlier notice of Universalism in the Territory. In 1842 Rev. C. F. Le Fevre published in the "Universalist Union" a letter signed by thirteen gentlemen living in Southport, signifying their desire to have a preacher sent to them. In 1843 Rev. A. C. Barry visited Wisconsin, preached at Racine, South-

[1] Memoranda, by George Rogers, p. 364.

port, Rochester, and Milwaukee. He reported[1] that in Racine Bro. Barnes — Rev. Seth Barnes, then living at Rockford, Ill. — had preached occasionally, for a year or two; at Rochester Bro. Bartholomew — probably Rev. T. S. Bartholomew, then residing in the Territory — was laboring a portion of the time; at Milwaukee "very few sermons have ever been preached by clergymen of our order. Bro. Barnes has occasionally extended his labors as far as here. . . . With no preacher among them, and assisted only by the occasional services of one whose field of labor was far away, they have builded them a sanctuary, — much as Potter of old builded his, — in the hope that God would send them a minister of the reconciliation."

The Racine church was organized in 1842. In February, 1844, the "Wisconsin Association" was organized at Whitewater. Rev. Mr. Bartholomew, chosen clerk, was the only preacher then residing in the Territory. The following May Rev. C. F. Le Fevre moved into the Territory, and resided three months in Southport, when, receiving an invitation to settle over the Society at Milwaukee, he purchased a farm in the neighborhood and removed with his family. In June, 1846, he wrote: "There are already seven societies organized, and ten preachers residing within the territorial limits. It is true that only two or three are solely engaged in the ministry, but all preach more or less."[2]

The Association seems to have changed its name to

[1] Magazine and Advocate, Oct. 20, 1843, p. 324.

[2] Letter of Mr. Le Fevre, Magazine and Advocate, July 12, 1846, p. 245.

"Convention" in 1848, and to have organized a Missionary Association in connection therewith. The Northern and Southern Associations were organized in 1857; the Lake Erie Association in 1848. There are now in the State 18 parishes, with 670 families; 14 churches, with 339 members; 11 Sunday-schools, with 646 members; 17 church edifices, valued at $95,500; and 19 resident clergymen. The Convention has a fund of $550 for missionary purposes and for ministerial relief.

CANADA. — The earliest preaching of Universalism of which we have any information was at "Hamilton, Gore District, U. C.," in 1832, by Rev. Kneeland Townsend, at that time a resident of Gaines, N. Y. He revisited the place in 1833, and encountered considerable opposition.[1] Rev. H. Roberts preached in Hamilton, Toronto, and other places in the fall of 1835.

In 1836 Rev. Eli Ballou writes to the "Watchman" that there are quite a number of Universalists in several townships in Lower Canada; and the "Register" for 1840 speaks of there being "9 or 10 societies and 2 or 3 meeting-houses in this province." The name of Rev. J. Ward is given as residing in Stanstead; but we fail to discover when or by whom these societies were formed.

In 1836 or 1837 a society of "Scotch Universalists" was organized at Ramsay, U. C. They had no preacher, but were ably ministered to by William Houston, one of their own number.[2]

[1] Magazine and Advocate, Nov. 30, 1833, p. 378.
[2] Ibid., June 16, 1837, p. 191.

In 1845 the "Western Canada Association of Christian Universalists" was organized. Delegates from three societies and two resident preachers were present. At the session, in 1846, they urged the brethren in Eastern Canada to organize an Association, that a Provincial Convention might be formed. In 1877 the Western Association became the "Universalist Convention of Ontario, Canada." There are now, in the bounds of that Convention, 7 parishes, with 136 families; 5 churches, with 183 members; 3 Sunday-schools, with 105 members; 5 church edifices, valued at $8,300; and 4 resident preachers. The Convention has a Missionary Fund of $1,000.

Eastern or Lower Canada, now called the Province of Quebec, has 3 parishes, with 90 families; 2 churches, with 195 members; 2 Sunday-schools, with 110 members; 3 church edifices, valued at $14,600; and 1 resident preacher. Its preacher and parishes have the fellowship of the Vermont Convention.

New Brunswick. — Dr. Joseph Butterfield, fellowshipped prior to 1820, was the first Universalist preacher to visit New Brunswick. He was followed by Rev. J. B. Dods; and in 1826 a brief visit was made by Rev. Sylvanus Cobb. Our "Register" makes no mention of New Brunswick till 1841, when it says there are "probably two societies and one meeting-house." Rev. Amos Hitchins was then residing at St. Davids. In 1842 a church edifice was erected at St. Stephens. It was destroyed by fire in 1855, and was rebuilt in 1856 or 1857. It was again destroyed by a gale in 1869. Since that time the congregation worship with the parish in Calais, Maine.

Nova Scotia. — In April, 1834, Rev. William Delaney wrote to the "Trumpet and Magazine," from "Pagwash (Cum. Co.), N. S.," saying that he had been an Orthodox preacher, but that about a year previous to the date of his letter he had been led, by the study of the Scriptures, into the belief of Universalism; and that a Universalist society of about thirty members had just been organized in that place. In 1835 Rev. David Wilson was residing at Hope; but how long he had been there, or how much time he was devoting to preaching, we are not informed. The same year Rev. W. S. Cilley, of Maine, made a preaching tour to Minondic and Amherst.

In 1837 a movement was made at Halifax, quite independent of any outsiders. A discussion of the subject of Universalism was attempted, but fell wholly under control of those opposed to its doctrines. It resulted, however, in the organization of a "Club," composed of Universalists, who met at each other's homes each Sunday to read Universalist literature and for mutual council. In a short time Dr. W. F. Teulon, a physician and Methodist local preacher, made himself known to them as a Universalist, and tendered his services as their minister, — an offer which was promptly and gladly accepted, — and public services were at once commenced. Meanwhile, Rev. Robinson Breare, a young and popular pastor of one of the Methodist churches in the city, became a Universalist; and being summarily dismissed by the Methodist Society, became pastor of the Universalist flock. In 1844 a church edifice was erected, which gave place in 1874 to a beautiful building costing $50,000, chiefly the gift of one member of

the parish. The property, besides that occupied for church purposes, — valued at $80,000, — now owned by the society, is estimated at $20,000. The parish and its pastor have the fellowship of the Maine Convention.

By reference to vol. i. p. 300, it will be seen that in the "Plan of Church Government," adopted by the Philadelphia Convention in 1790, there was a section on "The Instruction of Children." This plan, as see p. 303, vol. i., was "corrected and arranged" by Dr. Benjamin Rush. May not this fact have had something to do in causing the conferences between Dr. Rush, Bishop White, and Matthew Carey, and resulting in the formation of "The First-day or Sunday-School Society" in Philadelphia, in December, 1790? That organization was the beginning of continuous Sunday-school efforts in America. The first Sunday-school formed by that society was in March, 1791. A month later Mr. Oliver Wellington Lane, a school teacher at "West Boston," probably on Staniford Street, where he resided, and a deacon in the First Universalist (Rev. John Murray's) Church, opened a Sunday-school for children of both sexes.[1]

The Philadelphia schools — three in number — established by the "First-day Society," were unsectarian. Matthew Carey, one of the original members of the Society, was a Roman Catholic, Bishop White an Episcopalian; and resistance to efforts to make the schools sectarian became necessary at the outset. By 1816 so

[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year 1794, vol. iii. p. 267.

many of the patrons had withdrawn for the purpose of forming sectarian schools, that the Society discontinued its schools.

The first distinctively Universalist Sunday-school was instituted in the Lombard-Street Church in Philadelphia, in October, 1816, after the abandonment of the "First-day Society's" schools. The second Sunday-school was organized by Rev. Paul Dean, in the First Society in Boston, in 1817; the third in the Gloucester church in 1820. This last is still in operation. The total number of Universalist Sunday-schools in America is now 577, with an aggregate membership of 55,587.

During his residence in Gloucester, probably as early as 1780, Rev. John Murray instituted the rite of the Dedication of Children, parents bringing their young children to the church and having them received by the minister, and dedicated as God's gift, to His loving service. This ceremony, peculiar to the Universalist Church (as see the account given in chapter iii. of this volume), has been more or less observed through our entire history, but for many years no particular day was designated for it. In June, 1856, Rev. C. H. Leonard, D. D., then pastor of the church in Chelsea, instituted Children's Sunday, a day for the special observance of this rite, and for services particularly adapted to the capacity, needs, and enjoyment of the children of the Sunday-school. The service has been annually observed in that church since then, and was soon taken up in other Universalist churches. In 1867 the General Convention, in session in Baltimore, Md., commended "the practice of those churches in our

order that set apart one Sunday in each year as Children's Day." At Providence, R. I., in 1868, the General Convention recommended "that the second Sunday in June of each year be named and set apart as 'Children's Sunday.'" The day is now very generally observed.

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION.

1814–1886.

NICHOLS ACADEMY. — CLINTON LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — WESTERN UNION SEMINARY. — WESTBROOK SEMINARY. — UNITY, N. H. — WATERVILLE LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — OHIO CITY INSTITUTE. — MADISON LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — MURRAY INSTITUTE. — LEBANON LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — MOUNT CÆSAR SEMINARY. — MELROSE SEMINARY. — GREEN MOUNTAIN PERKINS ACADEMY. — WESTERN LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — ORLEANS LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — JEFFERSON LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — DEAN ACADEMY. — GODDARD SEMINARY. — MITCHELL SEMINARY. — MISCELLANEOUS SCHOOLS. — THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS. — EARLY UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS. — THE SCHOOL AT CLINTON, N. Y. — AT CANTON, N. Y. — TUFTS DIVINITY SCHOOL. — THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT IN LOMBARD UNIVERSITY. — LOMBARD UNIVERSITY. — TUFTS COLLEGE. — ST. LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY. — BUCHTEL COLLEGE. — SMITHSON COLLEGE. — PUBLISHING HOUSE. — CONCLUSION.

ONE of the most serious annoyances with which the early Universalists were obliged to contend, was the fact that the boarding-schools, academies, and colleges of the land were controlled by denominations of Christians hostile to the doctrine of universal grace, who often considered it more important to indoctrinate the pupils with their sectarian views than to impart instruction in the branches which they had advertised to teach. Not only were the pupils compelled by school regulations to attend a particular church, against the wishes of the pupil and the preference of parents, but they were also subjected to ridicule for any manifestation of respect for the religious opinions avowed in their homes, and were insulted by being compelled

to listen to denunciations of those opinions made in the most opprobrious terms, and by hearing the characters of their parents traduced and aspersed on account of their religious faith.

NICHOLS ACADEMY. — The first concerted effort to remedy this evil by establishing schools which should be under more liberal control, was made in 1814 by Revs. Hosea Ballou, Thomas Jones, Edward Turner, and Paul Dean, and Messrs. Benjamin Russell and Zachariah Hicks, who issued a Circular calling for the establishment of a seminary "embracing the united interests of Literature and Religion." This being presented to the General Convention the same year, "accompanied with significations of acceptance, and strong intimations of patronage from many societies and individuals," that body voted, "That the proposed institution be directed and patronized by the General Convention." The following year the committee reported to the Convention, "That it is expedient that the Convention endeavor to raise by subscription, a fund of Five thousand dollars, to be divided into two hundred shares of twenty-five dollars each, the interest only of which shall be applied to the support of the institution, and that a Committee be appointed to obtain the subscription of said shares." The Convention adopted the report, and appointed Rev. Messrs. Edward Turner, Richard Carrique, Hosea Ballou, Paul Dean, and Joshua Flagg, the committee. Little or nothing was done that year, and there is no mention of the subject in the Convention records of 1816; but at the session in Charlton, Mass., in 1817, the committee

was increased by the appointment of Rev. Messrs. S. Streeter, R. Bartlett, and H. Ballou, 2d, and Messrs. J. Brown and J. Davis, and desired "to carry into effect a subscription of Five Thousand Dollars, on the plan on which subscriptions were previously issued;" and the committee was "empowered to make any further provisions for the success of the said Seminary, as they may think necessary, and find to be practicable." Little or nothing came of this; but the project was not abandoned, for at the session in 1818, at Chesterfield, N. H., Rev. Messrs. Paul Dean, Edward Turner, and Hosea Ballou were appointed by the Convention, "with discretionary powers, to devise the plan of a Seminary of Science, and as far as able, to carry the same into effect." In 1819, at Lebanon, N. H., they reported "that they had succeeded in establishing a Seminary in the Town of Dudley, Mass." Whereupon the Convention passed the following votes: —

"That this Convention receive the Nichols Academy under their patronage, and pledge themselves, in their social and individual capacities to use all proper and reasonable means for the support, respectability and permanence of said Institution, *provided, that the Trustees are members of this Convention, and all vacancies shall be filled by members of the Convention, or those in fellowship therewith;* and that Bro. H. Ballou prepare and forward subscription papers to all the Societies in this connection, to obtain subscriptions for the support of the Nichols Academy."[1]

Each step in the action of the Convention was doubtless incited by Amasa Nichols, Esq., a successful

[1] Convention Records, vol. i. pp. 175, 185, 204, 215, 232.

merchant and an ardent Universalist of Dudley, who, in 1815, erected wholly at his own expense, at a cost of $10,000, a building for academical purposes. The building was ready for occupation, and a school was opened in it by Rev. Barton Ballou, when, by accidental fire, it was entirely destroyed. It was at once proposed to build anew, and outside aid was solicited, — probably by the subscriptions authorized by the Convention. The amount realized from this effort was about $1,000. In 1818 the new building was so far advanced as to be opened for school purposes, and in 1819 the Academy was incorporated by act of the Legislature, the corporators being "Jonathan Davis, Amasa Nichols, Benjamin Russell, John Spurr, John Brown, Isaiah Rider, Luther Amidown, John Kettell, and Benjamin Gleason, Esqrs., Rev. Thomas Jones, Rev. Hosea Ballou, Rev. Paul Dean, Rev. Edward Turner, Dr. Dan Lamb, and Dr. Abraham R. Thompson."

Mr. Nichols at once made conveyance, by deed of trust, of the land and building to these trustees and their successors forever, providing that if they should fail for six consecutive months to maintain the school, the estate should revert to him.

Mr. Holmes Amidown, in a sketch of the history of the town of Dudley, published in the first volume of his "Historical Collections," — from which the facts just narrated were obtained, — further says: —

"The labor and responsibilities now resting on the trustees were great and perplexing. They were under the necessity of sustaining a school: there were no funds, and the large building was unfinished, needing

to be painted to preserve the exterior, and much to be done internally to give it decent conveniences for a school. This was certainly a discouraging condition for commencing their trusteeship; but the trustees were not disheartened; they began their labors in earnest with a determination that the institution should be put into working operation. They assessed themselves for a sufficient sum to paint the Academy, and make needful improvements to supply the immediate necessities of the school."

In 1823 application was made to the Legislature for aid, but the Committee on Education reported adversely, on the ground that it had not been the practice of the State to aid academies until permanent funds had been secured to such institutions. The petitioners were given to understand that if they could raise and secure to the Academy a fund of at least $2,000, their prospects would be good for a grant of half a township of wild land in the State of Maine. This was done by subscriptions in various parts of the State, — chiefly in Dudley and vicinity, — payable in five, ten, and twenty years, bearing interest annually. On the strength of these subscriptions the State granted the wild land, which was at once sold for $2,500. With this and the subscriptions, the building was finished and improved.

"Up to 1823," says Mr. Amidown, "all the trustees were known or supposed to be Universalists." But at this time, and influenced by mistaken views of policy, however honestly entertained, our people threw away their opportunity. Overlooking the conditions of support by the Convention, as expressed in its votes in 1819, or, perhaps, believing themselves able to change

the conditions, the majority of the board reached the conclusion that, if a portion of their number should be selected from other denominations of Christians, it would be to the advantage of the school in giving it a non-sectarian character. To this Mr. Nichols stoutly objected, but was overruled, and two vacancies in the board were filled by gentlemen not Universalists. Mr. Nichols refused to be reconciled to the change of policy, resigned his position as trustee, and his office of secretary, and never after appeared to take any interest in the affairs of the Academy.

At this time, as we are assured, the school was receiving a fair share of patronage, and could doubtless have been sustained by Universalists, but it soon passed from their control. The historian of the town says : —

"Of the propriety of the course adopted by the trustees, it is not purposed here to make any extended remarks, but it may be deemed proper to say, that up to this time, Mr. Nichols had borne the chief expenditure that had brought this institution into existence. It is true that a subscription for its aid had been received; but of the amount subscribed only about $800 came from other denominations; the $2,500 received from the State was in the usual course of its patronage to institutions of learning, without regard to sectarian influences. . . . Under the circumstances, and with due consideration for the great expenditure and the religious sentiments of Mr. Nichols, and his ardent desire to continue the school on the basis of an institution that favored his religious views, it is believed that the trustees should not have changed its character, so long as there was any probability of its being sustained under the plan and design of its founder."

Clinton Liberal Institute. — The subject of denominational schools was agitated in the State of New York, through the columns of the "Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate," in April, 1831. The editor, Rev. Dolphus Skinner, made an earnest plea for "a literary institution for the benefit of Universalists — more particularly designed for the instruction of youth, preparatory to the ministry of universal reconciliation." Deprecating the influence exerted on the children of Universalist parents who were educated in schools wholly under the control of the opposers of Universalism, it was argued that both means and ability were sufficient to enable Universalists to educate their children in schools where they could retain the faith taught them in their homes.

On the 11th of the following month, at the session of the State Convention held in Clinton, —

Rev. Messrs. "S. R. Smith, D. Skinner, and A. B. Grosh, were chosen a committee to collect important facts, and prepare an address to the several Associations, and to the Universalists and liberal portion of the community, on the subject of establishing a literary institution in this State, not only for general purposes of science and literature, but with a particular view of furnishing with an education young men designed for the ministry of reconciliation."

The first Association to convene after this action of the Convention, was the Central at Cedarville, June 1, where the Council resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and unanimously adopted the following: —

"Whereas, at the last session of the Universalist Convention of the State of New York, a resolution was

passed, recommending the establishment of a 'literary institution,' and,

"Whereas, the respective Boarding Schools, Academies and Colleges of this State, are *exclusively* controlled by various Christian denominations, hostile to the doctrine of the final holiness and purity of all men — That in all these institutions the most unwarrantable means are employed to overawe and control the minds of the pupils — That they are generally obliged by school regulations to attend a particular church, without respect to the choice of the pupil, or the preference of friends — that they are tantalized by ridicule and menace, for avowing respect for principles and doctrines not approved by the managers of the institution, — that they are perpetually insulted, by hearing the sentiments of liberal Christians denounced in the most unfeeling manner and opprobrious terms, and by hearing the characters of their parents or guardians traduced and aspersed on account of their religious faith — that they are perplexed and harassed with systematic attempts to win them over to the doctrines of a favorite *sect.* For which purpose, the *Catechism* has been substituted for books of science — religious meetings have taken the place of school instruction, and instructresses and teachers of Grammar and Geography, have become lecturers on Theology. Therefore,

"*Resolved,* That this Association approve of the recommendation of the said Convention.

"*Resolved,* That the said institution be located at the village of Clinton, Oneida Co., or as near thereto as the existing laws respecting corporations, and other circumstances will admit.

"*Resolved,* That a Board of Trust, to consist of fifteen members, be appointed to carry the same into effect.

"*Resolved,* That Robert McKinstry, Esq., Stephen Van Schaack, Hon. Thaddeus Loomis, N. M. Woodruff, Esq.,

Gen. E. Merriam, E. D. Wight, Gen. J. D. Landon, Alfred Avery, Hon. Nathan Williams, A. S. Pond, Abial Cook, Esq., Esek Bradford, Elisha Swift, Hon. U. F. Doubleday, and Amaziah Stebbins, be the Trustees of said Institution.

"*Resolved*, That Mr. Joseph Stebbins, Mr. David Pixley, Mr. Timothy Smith, John W. Hale, and E. S. Barnum, Esq., constitute an Executive Committee, with powers to hold said Institution in trust, erect a suitable building or buildings, raise and appropriate funds, and with as little delay as possible, procure one or more suitable and qualified instructors, and open a school for the mutual instruction of males and females in the respective sciences."

In the Circular Letter accompanying the published minutes, the writer, Rev. A. B. Grosh, said: —

"Our ministers and delegates sat down in council with hearts surcharged with a deep conviction that something *must immediately* be done to preserve our young men and maidens from the insult, contumely, and degradation they must endure in the existing Boarding Schools, Academies and Colleges, because they 'trust in the living God who is the Saviour of all men.' Very little difference of opinion, if any, existed as to the mode and manner of operation, and all the other minutiæ connected with the subject. Hence, on the final passage of the resolutions as they now read, full and unanimous votes were given for their adoption. Had time permitted we would gladly have waited for the public expression of sentiment from every Association in the State — but a whole year is too long for a suffering people, determined on action, to delay their purposes and risk the evils of procrastination. We are, therefore, up and *will* be doing, and if we can but gain the approbation and assistance of our sister Associations, we are confident that,

in a very short period of time, our contemplated institution will be one of the very best in the State. Even from the encouragement already held forth by our friends, in many distant portions of New York, we feel assured of having, in active operation, before another year, a very respectable Seminary where our young men and maidens may receive proper instruction without degradation being offered to their souls, insult to their minds, and wanton cruelty to their feelings, by every pretended religionist who may attempt to proselyte them to his heart-withering dogmas, or to tyrannize over them for believing in the promises of God and the doctrines of Jesus."

The project was heartily indorsed by all the Associations, and the Executive Committee at once proceeded to canvass for funds; and having received sufficient encouragement in Clinton and vicinity to warrant the step, the Male Department of the institution was opened Nov. 7, 1831, under the charge of Mr. George R. Perkins, and the Female Department, Nov. 21, under the care of Miss Jane M. Burr. The site for the building was donated by Judge Sweeting of Westmoreland, and the erection of a stone edifice, which cost about $10,000, was forthwith commenced, while a wooden building was speedily erected by Mr. J. W. Hale, at his own cost, for the Female Department. Meanwhile the subject was agitated and discussed with great ability in the columns of the "Magazine and Advocate," by the editor and his Associate, Rev. A. B. Grosh, and by frequent articles from the pen of Rev. Stephen R. Smith, who may be said to have been the originator of the project, as he was the most persistent and untiring worker for its

success. His biographer, Rev. Dr. Sawyer, thus speaks of Mr. Smith's work in this field: —

"Mr. Smith did not confine his labors in behalf of the Institute to his own neighborhood, nor to any particular mode. He travelled thousands of miles through the State, preached on the subject, solicited funds in public and private, called attention to the work through our periodical press, and by every means in his power endeavored to arouse the denomination to a sense of its wants and duties. I hardly know which should excite the most wonder, the great success that attended his labors, considering the time and circumstances, or, on the other hand, the little that he accomplished, considering his talents, perseverance and zeal. No other man in the State could have done so much; few could have accomplished anything; and yet it is humiliating to reflect that such a man should have found it necessary to waste the labor of months and years in gathering from the whole denomination in the State a few thousand dollars, to found a denominational institution of learning! With the history of the Clinton Liberal Institute was the life of Mr. Smith identified till his removal to Albany, in 1837; nor did he ever cease to feel the liveliest interest in its welfare and prosperity, though at a distance from it, and, of course, less sensibly affected by its affairs. He was, through his whole life, the friend of education among us, and did all in his power to promote it. His relations with the Institute, as general agent, made it necessary for him to be almost constantly travelling. Between the first of June, 1831, and the first of June, 1832, he preached in nearly sixty different places, stretching from Buffalo to Philadelphia. It was a remark he often made afterwards, that, in collecting funds for the Institute, he averaged one dollar for every mile's travel. And, as he obtained five or six

thousand dollars, we can easily estimate the amount of labor necessary to accomplish his task." [1]

The treasurer of the Institute, Joseph Stebbins, Esq., of Clinton, nobly seconded the efforts of the General Agent, and for a long term of years advanced thousands of dollars for the erection of the building and the support of the school.

The Institute received an Academical Charter from the legislature of New York, in 1834, and since about that time has drawn an annual allowance from the educational funds of the State.

In 1836, E. W. Haskins, Esq., of Buffalo, purchased a lot of land, containing about seven acres, including a beautiful hill, adjoining the property of the Institute, which he donated to the trustees for the institution. Although the school was from the beginning under the control of Universalists, and drew most of its patronage from Universalist families, it was not a denominational school in the sense of being identified especially with the interests of any sect. In May, 1845, the trustees of the Institute signified to the Universalist Convention of the State of New York, "their desire to have the Convention take the superintendency" of the school. A committee with full powers was appointed, who were to report "through the Universalist periodicals of the State, as soon as practicable." In June the Committee, having had consultation with the trustees of the Institute, reported favorably; and shortly after, the trustees adopted a new constitution providing for the necessary changes. In 1855, the debts of the Insti-

[1] Memoir of Rev. Stephen R. Smith, by Thomas J. Sawyer, pp. 285, 286.

tute pressed so heavily, that the trustees appealed to the State Convention to take control of its affairs, and, if possible, promote its permanent prosperity. A year later the Convention appointed a committee to raise the necessary funds to liquidate the indebtedness of the Institute. In 1858 the committee reported that they found the indebtedness to be $11,318.70, that two thirds of this amount had already been subscribed, and the balance would be raised with the least possible delay. In 1868 the N. Y. Legislature so amended the charter of the Institute as to require the Convention to fill all vacancies that might hereafter occur in the Board of Trustees. In 1874 a canvass of the State was begun for the purpose of raising a sufficient amount to enable the Institute to furnish itself with a more suitable building for the accommodation of its pupils. As the canvass progressed, an offer was made by friends of the Institute at Fort Plain, to donate a building and lands located there, on condition that the school should be removed to that place. A majority of the trustees favoring the proposal, the offer was accepted by the State Convention, in session at Syracuse, August 27 to 29, 1878; and the Institute opened in Fort Plain in the fall of 1879. It is a successful and prosperous school. Following Mr. Perkins and Miss Burr, the Principals have been, in the order of their service: Rev. C. B. Thummel, Rev. Timothy Clowes, LL. D., Rev. H. B. Soule, Rev. S. Strong, Mons. C. L. Faber, Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D., Paul A. Towne and A. G. Gaines, S. C. Palmer and Samuel Ramsey, Rev. J. A. Aspinwall, Rev. L. M. Hawes, N. White, H. A. Dearborn, Wyman E. Fickett, E. E. Spaulding, Rev. P. R. Kendall, A. G.

Lewis, F. L. Backus, I. Thornton Osmond, Walter R. Haig, Rev. L. J. Fletcher, D. D., Charles V. Parsell. Ladies Department: Miss P. Dean, Miss Frances E. Fosdick, Miss Almira Meech, Miss Louisa M. Barker, Mrs. A. D. Gordon, Miss Caroline A. White, Miss Harmony Luce, Miss Susan A. Hutchins, Miss Martha Richards, Miss Louise M. Barker, Miss Adaline C. Buck, Miss Ellen R. White, Miss Lydia Y. Kendall, Miss Cynthia A. Weld, Mrs. L. H. Dent, Miss Mary S. Bacon, Miss Fannie M. Walcott, Miss Helen S. Pratt, Miss Mary S. Bacon, Miss Martha A. Bortle.

The estimated value of the assets of the Institute, is $108,000.

Prior to 1845, when Rev. Dr. Sawyer became Principal, and gave special instruction in theology to those who desired to prepare for the ministry, as will be more fully set forth under the head of Theological Schools, there were thirty-seven young men who entered the ministry from Clinton, who were either connected with the Institute or special students in theology under Rev. S. R. Smith, or Rev. Dr. Clowes. Their names were: J. A. Aspinwall, Peleg B. Babcock, T. S. Bartholomew, Daniel R. Biddlecom, David Biddlecom, J. Boden, L. C. Browne, Jesse Bushnell, Uriah Clark, A. B. Copeland, J. M. Day, W. W. Dean, W. F. Dennis, T. C. Eaton, P. P. Fowler, S. W. Fuller, G. W. Gage, B. F. Gibbs, J. T. Goodrich, W. H. Griswold, J. W. Hiscock, Samuel Jenkins, J. S. Kibbe, S. P. Landers, H. S. Lloyd, W. E. Manley, George Messenger, M. B. Newell, William Queal, O. Roberts, W. H. Ryder, T. J. Smith, H. B. Soule, David Van Alstine, C. H. Webster, Oliver Wilcox, Alonzo Williams.

Western Union Seminary. — The Western Union Association, of Indiana, at its session at Mount Healthy, in May, 1832, appointed an agent, Rev. Jonathan Kidwell, to attend to the business of opening subscriptions for a seminary of learning, and to locate the site for the same. Several proposals having been made, a site at Philomath, Union County, was selected, and the agent made report in July that —

"Upwards of fifty acres of land in all, are obtained in this donation — a number of valuable in-lots for shops and boarding houses — four out-lots for gardens, averaging two and a half acres each — with about twenty-five acres of first-rate timbered land, all convenient to the town, and 1,000 perch of good building stone. More than $1,000 of materials, labor and money, of the donation, will be at the disposal of the board of trustees the first year, and an income of $250 per year."

The trustees appointed by the Association were Israel Bigelow, Daniel St. John, James Ayres, Aaron De La Barr, William D. Jones, Jesse Willitts, Peter J. Labertaw, John Beard, and Jonathan Kidwell. In February, 1833, the Seminary was incorporated by the State Legislature. A temporary building was erected, and the school was opened, with Jacob S. Davis, Principal, in May, 1833. Mr. Davis was dismissed the following October. In September of that year the "General Convention of Universalists of the Western States," in session at Philomath, took into consideration an offer from the Western Union Association to turn over the sole control of the Seminary to the Convention, and voted that it was "expedient to accept said proffer." The next year the Seminary was reported as being in

complicated financial difficulty, and a committee was appointed to devise measures to extricate it. In 1836, no relief having been obtained, the Convention voted to resign its trust to the Western Union Association.

Whether the school was continued in the temporary building after the dismissal of Mr. Davis, we are not informed. The permanent building was probably under way in 1836, as we find a notice in the "Philomath Encyclopædia" for June of that year, that "eight rooms of the building are ready for the reception of students." It was also announced that Mr. Henry Houseworth would open the school "as soon as a sufficient number of students engage, to justify the same." Elsewhere we are informed that the building "will accommodate at least one hundred students." The latest information given us with regard to the activity of the Seminary, is an advertisement that a winter session will commence on the second Monday in May, 1841.

WESTBROOK SEMINARY. — This Seminary owes its existence to the following action of the Kennebec Association, at its annual session in Greene, Me., Sept. 29, 1830: —

"Whereas the interest of Universalists requires that a Classical School or Seminary of learning be established in Maine, where our children and youth may be educated without being subjected to hostile sectarian biases and influences on account of religious opinions, therefore,

"Resolved, That this Association earnestly recommend to Universalists and all Liberal Christians in Maine interested in the subject, to meet in the Universalist Meeting House in Westbrook on the 4th Wednesday of Oct. next, for the purpose of taking this subject

into consideration, digesting a Plan for the proposed Seminary and taking measures for accomplishing the object."

In order to give greater publicity to this movement and waken interest in it, the following named persons were appointed to address the public on the subject: Rev. William A. Drew, Rev. S. Brimblecom, Rev. W. I. Reese, Hon. C. Holland, Hon. J. Dunn, Jr., Hon. Cyrus Gardiner, Hon. Elisha Harding, Major J. Russ, Dr. Alfred Pierce, Gen. Thomas Todd, and Gen. J. Herich. Discussion, accompanied with some feeling, was had in the Association in regard to the location of the proposed Seminary. Waterville, Winthrop, and Westbrook were named; but the preference was given to the last, on the ground that there was no institution of the kind in New England, and that Westbrook was nearer and more accessible to New Hampshire and Massachusetts than either of the other places.

At the general meeting provided for in the resolution, a committee was appointed to draft a constitution, and to petition the Legislature for an act of incorporation. The latter was obtained in March, 1831, and the trustees named in it were James C. Churchill, F. O. J. Smith, Daniel Winslow, Nathan Nutter, William Slemmons, Moses Quinby, Josiah Dunn, William A. Drew, D. McCobb, G. W. Tinker, and Alfred Pierce.

Zachariah B. Stevens and Oliver Buckley of Stevens Plains generously donated land ample for the grounds and building, and the trustees proceeded to solicit funds for the erection of the Seminary building. In April, 1833, the trustees, having an available fund of

$4,000, — $3,000 of it being in subscriptions and $1,000 the gift of the State, — determined to build; although $2,000 additional would be required to meet the estimated cost of the proposed building, thirty-seven feet by seventy, two stories high and built of brick. The edifice was ready for occupancy in June, 1834; and on the 9th of that month the Seminary was opened for pupils, Rev. S. Brimblecom being the first Principal, and Rev. Alvan Dinsmore his assistant. Mr. Brimblecom resigned in the fall of 1836.

In 1863, the Charter of the Seminary was amended in the following form: —

"The trustees of the Westbrook Seminary may prescribe a course of study for young ladies, equivalent to that of any female college in New England, and may, with the concurrence of the Board of Instructors, confer upon all who shall satisfactorily complete such course, the collegiate honors and degrees that are generally granted by female colleges."

Since that time the title of the institution has been, "The Westbrook Seminary and Female College." In 1869 two new buildings were erected. Five courses of study are offered, — a common English course of one year; a higher English of three years; the College Preparatory; the Scientific, and the Ladies' Classical course, each of four years.

Mr. Brimblecom's successors as Principal have been: Mr. Furbush, John K. True, Moses B. Walker, Geo. W. True, E. P. Hinds, G. W. Bradford, Rev. L. L. Record, Nathaniel Hatch, Rev. James P. Weston, S. B. Rawson, C. S. Fobes, G. B. Ames, Rev. S. H. M'Collester, Rev. J. C. Snow, William A. Poste, G. M.

Bodge, Rev. Dr. J. P. Weston, a second time. The assets of the institution are estimated at $100,000.

UNITY, NEW HAMPSHIRE. — In September, 1835, a school was opened by Rev. A. A. Miner, at Unity, N. H. The arrangements were all made and the building erected by the Universalists of that place and vicinity. Mr. Miner continued in charge of the school until December, 1839, when he was succeeded by Mr. James Hale. The school was well patronized, having at times as many as a hundred pupils per annum. The reason for its establishment was, as in other localities, from a desire that the children of Universalist families might receive the advantages of education without being abused on account of the faith of their parents, or diverted from their studies by over-zealous sectarians. The building, after several years' service at Unity, was sold and moved to Claremont, N. H.

WATERVILLE LIBERAL INSTITUTE. — The Waterville Liberal Institute, Waterville, Me., grew out of a local need. The Baptists of that place established, about 1830, an academy designed as a preparatory school for Waterville College. In 1835 the Universalists felt the necessity of a school for their own children, and in February of that year, the Legislature passed an act to establish the Liberal Institute, designating in the act of incorporation Simon Mathews, Jediah Morrell, Abijah Smith, Calvin Gardner, Silas Redington, Ebenezer Bolkcom, Daniel Paine, Alpheus Lyon, William H. Dow, and Erastus O. Wheeler, trustees, and authorized to hold property to the value of $12,000. These trustees were foremost among the

leading men of the town, in intelligence, business, and public spirit.

Soon after their appointment the trustees purchased an eligible lot, and erected a building forty-one by thirty-six feet, which was called at the time one of the most beautiful specimens of architecture in the State. At first the lower story only was used for school purposes. The school was opened December 12, 1836, Mr. Nathaniel M. Whitman, Principal, with fifty-four scholars in attendance the first term.

In 1850 a Female Department was established, the entire building being then made available for school purposes. In 1854 the town, which had sent members of the higher classes to the Institute, erected new and larger school-houses, and withdrew its patronage. Westbrook Seminary, then in a critical condition, required assistance, and the State Convention deemed it wise to concentrate its efforts and aid in saving the Seminary. In consequence the Institute was closed, its building rented for a while for private schools, and was finally sold and remodelled into a dwelling. Mr. Whitman remained as Principal two years. His successors were Mr. T. G. Kimball, Rev. J. P. Weston, P. L. Chandler, J. H. Withington, T. W. Herrick, Rev. H. B. Maglathlin, J. M. Palmer, Rev. J. P. Weston, a second time, H. M. Plaisted, afterwards Governor of the State, and J. W. Butterfield. The first Preceptress was Mrs. H. P. Henry, and her successors were Mrs. C. L. Fullam, Miss S. L. Buck, Mrs. Fullam, a second time, and Miss Prescott.

Ohio City Institute. — In 1837 Richard Lord, of Ohio City, and James S. Clarke of Cleveland, gave a piece of land situated midway between Ohio City and

Cleveland, and $350 each, towards the erection of a suitable building for an academy. The land was valued by them at about $3,000. In November they announced that they had engaged Rev. Alvin Dinsmore, late Principal of the Morrisville Academy, as Principal of the new institute, and that, until the new building was ready for use, scholars would be received at Mr. Dinsmore's dwelling-house on Hicks Street. In May, 1838, the Universalist society of Ohio City chose as trustees of the "Universalist Institute of Ohio City," Richard Lord, James S. Clarke, Wm. F. Dennis, Haynes Johnson, James Dodge, Bostwick O'Conner, Philo Rawley, James Hartney, Asher M. Coe.

The building was so far advanced that one room was prepared for use, and the school opened in June, 1838. A published appeal to the friends of the institution said: "Its location is thought by some to be the most pleasant in the world. It is situated in a very pleasant and retired part of the city, nearly the same distance from the central part of the two (Ohio and Cleveland) cities. The building is three stories high, surmounted with a tower to the height of sixty-five feet, and one hundred and fifty feet above the waters of Lake Erie, affording a fine view of the two cities, the harbor and the lake. It will accommodate, when completed, one hundred and fifty or two hundred students."[1] It was intended to erect a Universalist church on the same lot with the Institute, and until that could be accomplished, an upper room in the Institute was used for Sunday services.[2]

[1] Magazine and Advocate, 1838, Oct. 12, p. 323.

[2] Glad Tidings and Magazine, Akron, Ohio, 1838, Oct. 27, p. 76.

The school advertised its spring term to commence in March, 1839, and we find no further mention of it. It was a time of great excitement and speculation; but suddenly the banks burst, speculations collapsed, and, added to these financial revolutions, a sickly season set in, and it was not possible to find enough who were well to render needed care to those who were sick.

Madison Liberal Institute. — In 1835 the Universalists of Madisonville, Ohio, eight miles east of Cincinnati, formed a stock company, and purchased a lot, and the foundations of a building thereon, originally intended for a church edifice, which they proceeded to finish to be used as a seminary. The following winter the Madison Liberal Institute was incorporated. The Institute was advertised to be ready for the reception of students on the first Monday in November, 1837, Mr. Jacob S. Davis, Principal. We get no further information respecting it.

Murray Institute. — Under the ministry of Rev. Daniel D. Smith, at Gloucester, Mass, a building called the Murray Institute was erected on the grounds of the Independent Christian Church. It was dedicated in October, 1839, and the "Liberal Institute," a private enterprise begun at Methuen, Mass, in 1839, was moved to Gloucester, and opened its school in the new building as the "Murray Institute," the first Tuesday in the following November. The trustees were William Babson, J. S. Johnston, Frederick Norwood, John J. Babson, Rev. Daniel D. Smith. Mr. H. M. Nichols was Principal the first two terms. The three subsequent terms were kept by Mr. Thomas Baker, after which the enterprise was abandoned.

Lebanon Liberal Institute. — An academy building erected by the citizens of Lebanon, N. H., in 1835, and occupied by a non-sectarian school for four years, was, in 1840, turned over to a board of Universalist trustees, among whose members were Rev. Messrs. L. B. Mason, John Moore, Cyrus H. Fay, Lemuel Willis, and Eli Ballou. They were incorporated by the State legislature as the "Lebanon Liberal Institute," and opened their school in 1841, under Mr. J. C. C. Hoskins, Principal, G. S. Guernsey and Miss Ruth Tenney, assistants. In 1846 Mr. Hoskins was succeeded by Mr. John P. Marshall, Sarah J. Kendall, Preceptress, and Helen M. Young, assistant. The fall term of 1849 was opened by Rev. J. S. Lee, Principal, at the close of which the school ceased. The difficulty of obtaining boarding places for the pupils, by reason of the sudden filling up of all available places by workmen employed in constructing the Northern Railroad, and the sudden death of one of the principal friends and trustees of the Institute, who was perfecting arrangements for its endowment, necessitated the suspension of the school. In 1855, by a special enabling act of the Legislature, the building was sold to the Lebanon High School District for a High School, and continues to be used for that purpose. Among the students, from 1836 to 1840, were Rev. Messrs. Cyrus H. Fay and John H. Moore; and at the Institute were Rev. Messrs. D. M. Reed, Geo. S. Guernsey, and Wm. R. Alger. During its brief career the school took and maintained a high rank in the character of its teachers, pupils, and instruction.

Mount Cæsar Seminary. — At the annual session of the Cheshire Association, at Westmoreland, N. H.,

in September, 1842, a committee was appointed to take into consideration the propriety of establishing an academy within the bounds of the Association. In October it was decided that the school should be located at Swanzey, the Universalists of that place having volunteered "to erect a suitable edifice, with all necessary conveniences for the accommodation of from one to two hundred pupils." The following July, the following-named persons were selected by the stockholders as the trustees of "Mount Cæsar Seminary:" Hon. Elijah Carpenter, Rev. J. Barber, Rev. Wm. S. Cilley, Thomas Little, Dr. Vine Porter, Rev. T. Barron, J. Cressey, E. Dort, Jonah Davis, Rev. C. Woodhouse, S. Slade, Jr., Elijah Sawyer, Hon. Levi Fisk, L. Martin, J. Newton, Charles Carpenter, S. W. Day.

The Seminary opened in the fall of 1843, with Rev. L. J. Fletcher, Principal, and Miss Fidelia Loveland, Preceptress of the Female Department. The Seminary was in existence about sixteen years, but greatly hampered by want of funds. It had no endowment. The building was afterwards used for a village school, and is now occupied by the public library. Mr. Fletcher's successors were Rev. J. S. Lee, D. D., Lyman Marshall, L. W. Pierce, Rev. S. H. M'Collester, D. D., Rev. W. W. Hayward. Of Miss Loveland's successors we have no information.

MELROSE SEMINARY. — Melrose Seminary was opened for students in West Brattleboro, Vt., September 1, 1847. "An Academy under Orthodox auspices had been established there fifty years before, and had been liberally patronized by Universalist families; but their

children were frequently ill-treated, their cherished convictions were ridiculed, and unjust aspersions were cast upon them, until the evil became too great to be tolerated. Two generous-hearted brothers, belonging to an old and honored family, Robert and Alonzo Goodenough, fitted up a convenient building in the centre of the village, and the Seminary was opened under the superintendence of Rev. J. S. Lee, who had been ordained to the ministry there the June before. He was assisted by James G. Murphy, M. D., and Miss Elmina Bennett, both students formerly at Swanzey." Although the school was well patronized, it had no endowment, and it was impossible to accommodate with boarding-places in the village all who desired to attend. This necessarily lessened the financial income, required great sacrifice on the part of the teachers, and eventually closed the Seminary. It continued in operation about five years, when the building reverted to the original owners. Mr. Lee left the school after two years' service. His successors were J. G. Murphy and A. W. Boardman. Miss Mary L. Jennison and Miss Lydia A. Taft succeeded Miss Bennett as Preceptresses.

Green Mountain Perkins Academy. — In 1845 the question of establishing an academical institution of a high order in Windsor County, Vt., was agitated at the session of the Green Mountain Association of Universalists. Leading and influential men residing in South Woodstock interested themselves in the project, raised funds, and erected a substantial wooden building in that village, where the "Green Mountain Liberal Institute" was opened in the fall of 1848. Mr. John Ward was Principal one year, when

he was succeeded by William D. Putnam, who remained about two years. The school was then temporarily suspended, but was reopened in 1852, under the care of Rev. J. S. Lee. Mr. Lee was in charge a little more than five years. His successors have been Rev. Moses Marston, Rev. W. R. Shipman, Rev. J. J. Lewis, H. P. Makechnie, H. R. Burrington, Rev. E. A. Drew, M. O. Perkins, W. M. Wright, E. A. Aldrich, N. P. Wood, L. S. Cook, O. H. Perry, C. H. Darling. The Preceptresses have been Miss Emeline F. Wright, Mrs. J. S. Lee, Miss H. Burrington, Mrs. J. J. Lewis, Miss E. A. Follansbee, Miss Z. E. Streeter, Miss Ella J. Holt, Miss Flora C. Eaton, Miss Georgie M. Dudley, Miss Nellie M. Weatherhed, Mrs. N. P. Wood, Miss A. M. Perham, Miss Nannie Darling, Miss Grace G. Marble.

In 1870 the name of the institution was changed by the Vermont legislature to Green Mountain Perkins Academy, in honor of Gaius Perkins, Esq., a liberal patron of the school. It has, in addition to the academy building, a boarding-house with a farm attached. On the opening of Tufts College in 1855, ten of the twenty students who entered the college were from this school. Its assets are valued at $15,000. During the last two years of Dr. Lee's connection with the institute, in addition to his regular school duties, he had a theological class, in which the following-named preachers were prepared for the ministry: Revs. Franklin S. Bliss, Lindley M. Burrington, Simon Goodenough, Moses Marston, Hiram A. Philbrook, Ira B. Pope, Lucius A. Spencer, W. E. J. Thompson, M. D., Nehemiah White, Ph. D.

Western Liberal Institute. — During the pastorate of Rev. G. S. Weaver at Marietta, Ohio, in 1848, the Universalists of that place, who had long desired an academy of their own, as their children were vigilantly proselyted in the Presbyterian academy and college located there, were incited by Mr. Weaver to make an effort in their own behalf for the realization of their wish. Rev. T. C. Eaton, who had been their former pastor, and perhaps the first to suggest the necessity for an academy, was appointed Financial Agent. The sum of $6,000 was raised, and a pretty brick building, two stories high, was erected adjoining the church.

The school opened in September, 1849, with P. R. Kendall, Principal, and Mrs. Kendall, Preceptress. It continued in successful operation about four years, and was well patronized, having an attendance of from 100 to 125 students; but owing to an unfortunate combination of circumstances in the church, leading to a bad administration of affairs, both the school and the church went down.

Mr. Kendall's successors were Rev. Messrs. Nathan Kendall and C. S. Averill; Miss Lydia Y. Kendall and Mrs. C. S. Averill, Preceptresses. Some ten or twelve years after the academy failed, a committee of the Ohio State Convention visited Marietta to see if the building could be regained and the Institute reopened. They found the building occupied as a woollen factory, and not fit for school purposes.

Orleans Liberal Institute. — In September, 1852, the Orleans Liberal Institute, located at Glover, Vt., was opened for students, Mr. Perkins Bass, Principal.

Seven of the Board of Trustees were appointed by the Northern Association. The building erected for the use of the school was owned in part by the trustees, and in part by the school district in which it was located. Without adequate endowment the school struggled on until 1872. Mr. Bass's successors were Isaac A. Parker, George W. Todd, C. W. Clark, Albert B. Ruggles.

Jefferson Liberal Institute. — Late in the year 1865, the Rev. B. F. Rogers, having settled as pastor of the Universalist Church at Jefferson, Wis., and having had experience in charge of academic institutions, was urged to take upon himself additional duties by opening a local High School. At a formal conference on the subject, Mr. Rogers suggested that a denominational school for the State should be established. The meeting approved the suggestion, and the Legislature incorporated the Jefferson Liberal Institute in April, 1866, Dr. W. W. Reed, Charles A. Holmes, G. T. Thorn, D. W. Masters, J. D. Clark, B. F. Rogers, and others, being the corporation. The school was opened by Rev. Mr. Rogers on the 24th of April, in the Universalist Church, with fifty pupils.

At the session of the Wisconsin State Convention in June, 1866, a vote of approval and commendation was passed. At the opening of the fall term, as the school required the entire time and service of its principal, Prof. Elmore Chase was chosen, and his wife as Preceptress. Soon a move was made to erect a suitable building. Thirteen thousand dollars were pledged in Jefferson; a site consisting of four acres was secured; and a brick building fifty by eighty feet, and three stories above the basement, was erected, the land and

building costing about $40,000. The Convention, at its session in 1867, voted, "That a denominational school be established in the State, and that it be located at Jefferson," and appointed Rev. A. Vedder Financial Agent. Subscriptions were solicited, each subscription of twenty-five dollars constituting a share in the stock, and every stockholder entitled to a voice in the management of the institution. In 1868, when the building was begun, $23,000 had been raised. A heavy debt was incurred, and Rev. James Eastwood took the field as Agent, and succeeded in raising the amount necessary to meet the obligations. A portion of the building was unfinished; and in completing this, making additions, and securing more teachers, another debt was created, necessitating the mortgage of the property. Hard times came on, and the most strenuous efforts to raise money failed. Finally, in 1877 the property was sold to satisfy the mortgage, and passed into the possession of the city, and is now used for public High School purposes.

The School was a success, so far as general patronage from pupils was concerned, and it gave thorough instruction. It failed on account of unfortunate business management. Mr. Chase withdrew from the school in 1869. His successors were H. R. Burrington, Rev. Emil Schultz, Prof. Chase, — a second time. Mrs. Chase was succeeded as Preceptress by Miss Perigo, Miss F. R. Allen, Mrs. Emil Schultz, and Mrs. Chase — a second time.

Dean Academy. — At the session of the Massachusetts Convention at Worcester in 1864, Rev. Dr. Miner, then President of Tufts College, made a statement in relation to the great need of a preparatory school or

academy as a fitting school in which young men should be prepared for college. The necessity for action seemed so urgent that the matter was referred to a committee, who reported the following, which was unanimously adopted: —

"Resolved, That the establishment of an Academy to be under our denominational influence and patronage, is desirable and necessary.

"Resolved, That as the best mode of initiating the establishment of such an institution, a board of Trustees be appointed by this Convention, whose duty it should be to originate a plan for such an Academy, to determine the place of its location, to ascertain what funds can be obtained toward its endowment, and to proceed to its establishment when circumstances shall appear in their judgment to justify it.

"Resolved, That the following individuals constitute the above named Board of Trustees, with power to fill vacancies, and to add to their number:

"Rev. A. St. John Chambré, Henry D. Williams, Augustus Harrington, Rev. W. E. Gibbs, E. H. Capen, Rev. S. Ellis, Hon. George Frost, Rev. L. M. Burrington, John D. W. Joy, Rev. O. F. Safford, Newton Talbot, Rev. G. S. Weaver, Thomas H. Frothingham, Hon. Joseph Day, Avery Davis, Dr. T. K. Taylor."

This Board at once organized and proceeded to the discharge of their duties. In March, 1865, they obtained a charter from the Legislature. The following-named gentlemen were added by them to complete the Board: Rev. C. R. Moor, Hon. J. G. Peabody, Albert Dickerman, Charles Foster, Rev. T. E. St. John. Invitations were issued for proposals for locating the academy, and several responses were received. Dr.

Oliver Dean, of Franklin, offered to donate eight acres of land, formerly a portion of the farm of the late Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, to give $50,000 as a permanent fund, and to contribute $10,000 towards the erection of a suitable building. This generous proposition was accepted, and in a short time arrangements were made for erecting a building estimated to cost $50,000.

In the summer of 1866 the trustees elected the following teachers: Timothy G. Senter, Principal; Mr. L. L. Burrington and Miss Mary Melcher. The two latter opened the school in the vestry of the Universalist Church at Franklin in October, 1866, with forty-five pupils. Mr. Senter took up his work some weeks later. The Academy building was completed in 1868, at a cost far exceeding the estimate, — amounting to $165,000. To this sum Dr. Dean contributed $50,000, in addition to his first offer of $10,000. He also added for the library $5,000, and to sustain the library, $10,000. On his decease in December, 1871, Dr. Dean left the Academy $110,000, besides making it his residuary legatee.

On the night of the last day in July, 1872, the building was destroyed by fire. The school, however, was not interrupted by this misfortune, but was continued in other buildings until a new edifice could be erected. The new building, larger than the old, and costing $165,000, was completed and ready for occupation in June, 1874. It is two hundred and twenty feet long, four stories high, is heated throughout by steam, and lighted by gas, and is fitted up and furnished in the most thorough and perfect manner for the accommodation and comfort of students.

In 1877 the character of the school was changed, and it was opened, September 18, for young ladies exclusively. In 1879 a return was made to the original plan, and a mixed school has been in successful operation since that time.

Mr. Senter withdrew from the principalship in 1871. His successors have been C. A. Daniels, A. M., Rev. J. P. Weston, D. D., Miss H. M. Parkhurst, L. L. Burrington, A. M. Miss Melcher, the first Preceptress, withdrew in 1878. Her successors have been Miss Sarah G. Duley, Miss Mary W. Mitchell, Miss M. A. Bryant, Miss Sarah G. Duley (a second time), Miss Ella P. Gardner, Miss A. A. Ballou, Miss Sarah A. Hamlin.

GODDARD SEMINARY. — At the session of the Vermont Convention of Universalists in 1863, it was voted, "That it is expedient for our denomination to establish and endow a Scientific and Classical Institution of the grade of an Academy, to be located in some part of the State." A committee of nine was appointed, "to confer with the Trustees of the Green Mountain Institute at South Woodstock, and the Orleans Liberal Institute at Glover, for the purpose of making a satisfactory arrangement for the future of these schools; to appoint an Agent or Agents to canvass the field for the purpose of securing funds for the Institution; and to obtain an Act of Incorporation from the State." The Convention also resolved, "That Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., of Boston, Mass. Rev. G. W. Bailey, of Lebanon, N. H. and Hon. Eliphalet Trask, of Springfield, Mass. be appointed a Committee whose duty it shall be to locate this Institution in the place where in their judgment, the greatest advantages can be secured."

At the next annual session of the Convention, held at Barre in 1864, the committee of nine reported that they had discharged the duties assigned them, and had obtained a charter for the proposed institution of learning. This charter, granted by the Vermont Legislature in October, 1863, named Eli Ballou, Harvey Tilden, Heman Carpenter, Isaiah Buckman, W. R. Shipman, R. B. Fay, G. W. Chaplin, J. S. Moore, W. T. Stowe, James T. Parish, R. Camp, Wm. B. Dennison, Martin Burnham, K. Haven, T. R. Spencer, their associates and successors, a body politic and corporate, by the name of the Green Mountain Central Institute. It also designated them as trustees, and gave them power "to confer on female pupils whom they shall deem worthy thereof, or who shall have completed the regular course of study prescribed in said Institute, all such literary honors and degrees as are usually conferred by the best female colleges, academies and seminaries." The committee of three appointed by the Convention was also empowered in the charter to locate the institution.

A canvass for funds was vigorously prosecuted. Mr. Thomas A. Goddard, who had taken part in an informal movement for a strong, well-endowed school a year before the subject was brought to the attention of the Convention, proposed to give $5,000 towards $50,000 for a new school, or one tenth of whatever sum should be deemed sufficient. The committee on location received proposals from Springfield, South Woodstock, Bethel, Northfield, and East Montpelier; and after due examination decided in favor of Barre. A brick building, 160 feet in length, 53 feet in width, and five stories

in height, was designed by Mr. T. W. Silloway, and was ready for use in the spring of 1870. The school was then opened by Mr. L. L. Burrington, Principal. and Miss Mary A. Bryant, Preceptress. In November, 1870, the name of the institution was changed by an amendment of the Act of Incorporation to the Goddard Seminary, in memory of Mr. Thomas A. Goddard, then deceased.

Mr. Burrington and Miss Bryant withdrew from the school in 1872. Their successors have been, — Principals: F. M. Hawes, Henry Priest, Allston W. Dana; Preceptresses: Miss A. A. Ballou, Miss Hattie E. Wood, Miss Flora C. Eaton (afterwards Mrs. Priest), Miss A. G. Watson, Miss Linda H. Brigham. The estimated value of the property of the seminary is $75,000.

MITCHELL SEMINARY. — For several years there had been considerable discussion in the Iowa Convention on the desirableness and possibility of establishing a seminary under the auspices of the Universalist denomination in that State. Not until 1870, however, did the subject take a definite form; but at the session that year, Hon. Thomas Mitchell, founder of the town of Mitchellville, offered to donate a large number of town lots, estimated to be worth at least $10,000, if the Convention would locate and build a seminary at that place. In addition Mr. Mitchell and Rev. J. R. Sage offered a handsome site, consisting of twenty acres, adjoining the town plat.

The Convention appointed a committee, with instructions to examine the property and receive proposals from other places. At a session of the Convention held at Mitchellville the following winter, it was unan-

imously voted to accept Mr. Mitchell's offer. A Board of Trustees was chosen, which was duly incorporated, and Rev. J. R. Sage, pastor of the church at Mitchellville, was appointed Financial Secretary to raise the funds and superintend the erection of a suitable building. In February, 1872, the Board authorized its secretary to negotiate a loan of $5,000, and to commence building a structure estimated to cost not exceeding $15,000. The corner-stone was laid July 4, 1872, and the building was completed and furnished in the fall of 1873. Meanwhile a temporary school had been opened in the Universalist Church, with Rev. L. G. Powers, A. M., Principal.

On entering the new building Mr. Powers was continued as Principal, assisted by Mrs. E. D. Browne, Lady Principal, and a full corps of teachers. The boarding department was well filled, and the attendance of pupils numbered about one hundred. Mr. Powers and Mrs. Browne resigned at the end of that school-year. Their successors were Rev. W. P. Payne and wife, 1874; Rev. J. R. Sage and wife, 1875, 1876; Prof. Elmore Chase, 1877 to 1880.

Unfortunately, the building and furnishing cost about $28,000, being greatly in excess of the estimate. The running expenses were not met by the income, and a floating debt of about $8,000 was incurred. Interest on a mortgage of $8,000 rapidly accumulated; and in spite of a thorough canvass of the State in 1877, to raise an amount sufficient to pay the debt, the hard times in the West made it impossible to succeed. In 1880, Messrs. Mitchell and Sage, acting for the trustees, sold the building to the State, to be used as an Indus-

trial School for girls. They realized therefrom the sum of $20,000, not quite sufficient to pay the indebtedness and accrued interest. The balance of the debt was assumed by Messrs. Mitchell and Sage, the indorsers of the notes of the institution.

During the seven years in which the school was in operation, it was under the control of the Iowa Convention; it graduated several classes, and was productive of excellent results to its pupils and to the community.

MISCELLANEOUS. — Other seminaries or academies have been established by private enterprise, and so conducted by Universalist managers and teachers as to successfully appeal for pupils from Universalist homes. Among these were: a private seminary kept by Rev. Barton Ballou, at Wrentham, Mass., in 1825; the Sharon Academy, Sharon, Ohio, and the Springfield Select School, Springfield, Ohio, in 1838; the Liberal Institute, Methuen, Mass., R. M. Nichols, Principal, 1839; the Reading Academy, Reading, Mass., 1843; School at Melrose, Mass., 1847; Lexington Academy, Lexington, Mass., 1850; Greenwood Seminary, Greenwood (South Reading), Mass., 1853, kept by Rev. and Mrs. W. B. Wait; the Winchester School, New York City, by Rev. B. B. Hallock, Miss Louisa M. Barker, and others, 1843; Young Ladies' Seminary, Cambridge, Mass., kept by Miss Louisa M. Barker, in 1845; in 1851, the High School at Patriot, Ind., afterwards the Jackson Collegiate Institute, by Mr. and Mrs. Francis Jackson; the Ballou Seminary, at Plymouth, N. H., by Rev. James H. Shepard, 1854; the Southern Liberal Institute, Griffin, Ga., by William Wallace,

1854; the Kentucky Liberal Institute, afterwards Union College, at Crittenden, Ky., 1857, by Rev. J. D. H. Corwine, A. M.; a High School at Hermon, Me., by Rev. J. H. Sawyer, A. M., in 1858; a School at Logansport, Ind., by Rev. J. D. H. Corwine, A. M., 1863. Possibly there may have been others, but we have no knowledge of them.

Theological Schools. — As will be seen under date of 1815, an effort to make provision for theological education was put forth by the General Convention in 1814. This was part of the original plan which resulted in the establishment of Nichols Academy. Mr. Stacy thus speaks of it in connection with the visit of Rev. Paul Dean to the Western Association in 1815: —

"He came on a special mission. I had, sometime during the previous year, received a circular letter from a committee appointed for the express purpose of soliciting subscriptions for the establishment of a theological seminary in Massachusetts. The circular stated one important provision of the proposed institution, which was quite objectionable in my estimation; and that was, the education, gratuitously, of indigent young men for the ministry; and I therefore used no influence in its favor. Mr. Dean now came authorized to lay the subject before the Western Association, and guaranty to us that whatever sum we would furnish toward carrying the object into effect, should be faithfully refunded whenever we should see fit to establish such an institution in our own State. He privately opened his business to me, inquired if I had received the circular, what success I had met with; and wanted I should second his efforts in the Association. I told him I had duly received the

circular, and had met with all the success I desired — that I was perfectly willing he should lay his business before the council, but I should conscientiously oppose him. He appeared astonished at the stand I took — said that we certainly needed a better educated ministry; and that it would render our denomination more popular, which was certainly a very important consideration. I replied that I was sensible, very sensible, we needed a better educated ministry; I felt every day the need of a better education myself, and would exert every faculty I possessed to establish a *literary* institution, free from the shackles of sectarianism and the trammels of human creeds as possible, for the education of young men; but I would have them go alone to the school of Christ — to the holy Bible — to obtain their divinity, and not to human, theological institutions. Moreover, there was, to my mind, a very objectionable feature in the proposals of the circular, which was the gratuitous instruction of indigent young men. It laid a temptation before idle and unprincipled youngsters to make a profession for the sake of getting an education, and acquiring a living without labor — without the least sentimental regard for the cause they would espouse. It had already proved deleterious to other denominations, many instances of the truth of which had come under my own personal observation, and it would surely be so to us. As to the unpopularity of the order, I had less to fear from that circumstance than I should have from its popularity. I knew very well that we were unpopular — I had suffered enough myself to learn that fact. So was primitive Christianity unpopular, but its unpopularity was its guaranty against imposition and imposture. I wished the doctrine of Universalism to become popular only by its own intrinsic merits, and not by any external splendor that might render it pleasing to the people. . . . Mr. Dean finally said, If I was resolved to oppose him,

he would not introduce the subject into the council; and consequently did not." (Memoirs, pp. 265, 266.)

In 1827 the General Convention appointed Rev. Messrs. S. R. Smith, Edward Turner, and Hosea Ballou, 2d, a committee to report at the next session the most practicable plan for establishing a Theological Seminary. The committee reported in 1828, that they had made no progress: "An interesting discussion took place on this subject, which was discontinued without any resolution." No further action was had until the session of 1835, when, on motion of Rev. T. J. Sawyer, the following was adopted: —

"Whereas, the propriety and expediency of establishing a Theological Seminary, has been agitated in this Convention, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That said subject be recommended to the consideration of the members of our denomination."

The next year the subject received similar treatment. The Boston Association also voted, in 1836, on the report of Rev. Messrs. H. Ballou, S. Streeter, and H. Ballou, 2d, —

"That when circumstances render it convenient to establish and support schools for instruction in those branches of learning proper for young men entering the ministry, such institutions are desirable, and that they be commended to the attention of our brethren."

The Massachusetts Convention, at its session in 1840, resolved that it was expedient to establish a "Seminary for the preparation of young men for the Gospel Ministry." Whereupon it appointed a committee to nominate

"A Board of Trustees, whose duty it shall be to select a site for an Institution, to take a deed thereof in trust for this Convention, to raise the funds, and to erect a suitable building, to appoint its Principal and other officers, and to hold said property in trust, and have the charge and supervision of the concerns of the Institution."

This committee held several meetings, at one of which, "in consequence of an offer made by Mr. Charles Tufts, of Charlestown, to make a gift of ten acres on Walnut Hill, as a site for the institution,"[1] they agreed to call the proposed theological school the "Walnut Hill Evangelical Seminary." They also established "Rules for the Foundation and Government of the Board of Trustees," which was to consist of "not less than nine members, nor more than twenty-five," who were to hold their offices for life, "unless voluntary resignation, immorality, mental imbecility, or want of belief or interest" in the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men, as taught in the Sacred Scriptures, and expressed in the Winchester Profession, should furnish occasion for a vacancy.

The trustees named by this committee were —

"Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Boston; Rev. Thomas Whittemore, of Cambridge; Dr. Oliver Dean, of Framingham; Charles Tufts, Esq., of Charlestown; Rev. Lemuel Willis, of Lynn; Mr. James Bartlett, Jr., of Plymouth; Timothy Cotting, Esq., of Medford; Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, of Waltham, and Mr. Benjamin B. Mussey, of Boston."

This Board organized January 25, 1841, when Dr. Oliver Dean was chosen President, Rev. Lemuel Willis,

[1] The hill now occupied by Tufts College.

Vice President, Rev. Thomas Whittemore, Secretary, and Timothy Cotting, Esq., Treasurer. At a subsequent meeting a committee to draft a form of subscription reported the following, which was adopted: —

"This Instrument witnesseth that whereas it is desirable to establish a Seminary in which young men may be educated for the Gospel Ministry, under the countenance of that class of Christians called Universalists, and whereas it has been judged expedient and necessary by the Trustees of the Walnut Hill Evangelical Seminary, to raise Fifty Thousand Dollars that said Institution may be established and endowed for such a purpose, we whose names are hereunto annexed, do subscribe to the funds of said Institution, the sums set by our own hands against our respective names, hereby binding ourselves, our executors and assigns to Timothy Cotting Esq. of Medford, Treasurer of said Institution, and his associates in the Government thereof, for the payment of the sums by us subscribed:

"Provided, That no person shall be holden to pay any part of the sum subscribed, until the Trustees of the above named Institution shall have received subscriptions to the full amount of Fifty Thousand Dollars.

"Provided also, That two-fifths of each subscription, shall become due when the aggregate subscription of Fifty Thousand Dollars is completed, and the other three fifths in equal Instalments of one, two, and three years."

Rev. Calvin Gardner, of Waterville, Me., was appointed General Agent to solicit funds, with an assurance "that he should be paid at the rate of six hundred dollars per annum for the time he might spend in the service of the Board, — that all reasonable travelling expenses should be allowed him, — and that the money he might obtain from preaching during the time he

held the agency, should be regarded as a part of his salary." Mr. Gardner, in accepting the agency, wrote that although the Board had "set the sum to be raised for a denomination as young as ours, high," it was none too high in order to establish a permanent institution.

The Board voted —

"That as the Walnut Hill Evangelical Seminary is designed for general interest, and as neither its patrons nor its benefits ought to be confined to any single State, that Messrs. Mussey, Cobb, and Willis be a committee to nominate to this Board, one person from Maine, one from New Hampshire, one from Vermont, one from Connecticut, one from Rhode Island, and two from New York, as candidates for membership on this Board."

May 18, 1841, Dr. Samuel Bugbee, of Wrentham, and Rev. Sebastian Streeter, of Boston, who had been nominated at a previous meeting, were elected trustees, and Hon. Joseph Heally, of Washington, N. H., Hon. J. H. Harris, of Strafford, Vt., and Mr. William Witherly, of Castine, Me., were nominated for membership. It was also voted that Rev. C. Gardner be requested to commence the duties of his agency, as soon as shall be agreeable to his convenience.

The records end here; but among the loose papers in the book is a letter from the Agent, dated Oct. 3, 1841. In it he alludes to the fact that when he entered upon the duties of his agency the public mind did not seem to be properly prepared for his services.

"Some preliminary measures were deemed needful; and it was thought, upon the whole, by some of the Trustees, that I had better delay, for a short time, active operations. And I am of opinion that, in this

respect, they judged wisely. It can hardly be a question that, hitherto there has been too much indifference among the great mass of the people, in relation to the proposed project, to move on with it successfully. I am happy to add, however, that there now seems to be a line of determination, and a spirit of zeal manifested in the minds of the community, which indicate a better state of things, and give encouraging signs of success."

The time, however, of his leave of absence having about expired, and his Society desiring his presence, he cannot longer continue to serve both. He therefore desires to resign his agency, unless the Board think that his continuance is of sufficient importance to justify him in resigning his present charge.

Examining the files of the "Trumpet" we find that public meetings for the purpose of creating an interest in the proposed Seminary, were held in Boston, in June; at Worcester, in September; and at Boston again, in October. A committee appointed at the first of these meetings at once issued a circular. It was signed by Rev. Messrs. Sebastian Streeter, Hosea Ballou, 2d, Lemuel Willis, Thomas B. Thayer, and E. H. Chapin. Rev. Hosea Ballou published an article in review of, and opposed to the circular, in the "Trumpet" for August 14, to which Rev. Calvin Gardner replied, September 11, 18, and October 16. Four of the trustees, Messrs. Whittemore, Dean, Mussey, and Cotting, subscribed $1,000 each towards the needed funds; H. Ballou, 2d, obtained, in smaller subscriptions, $1,200, in Medford; a young layman in Philadelphia subscribed $100, and Rev. G. W. Quinby, $25. Other subscriptions may have been made, but no others are mentioned.

Although the General Convention at its session in New York, in September, 1841, emphatically expressed the opinion that "the interests of the denomination seem to render it important that Theological Institutions be established," nothing was undertaken till Sept. 3, 1845. At that time Rev. T. J. Sawyer, having removed from the city of New York to Clinton to take charge of the Institute, undertook, in addition to his duties as Principal, to devote two hours in each day to the instruction of such students in theology as should attend. The instruction was free of charge to the students. For his services Dr. Sawyer was to receive $500 per year, to be raised by a general subscription; and an attempt was made to create a fund of $10,000, the interest of which should support the school. In May, 1846, at the session of the N. Y. State Convention held in Newark, a committee of fourteen persons was chosen, whose business it was "to devise such means and plans as shall sustain and gradually perfect the effort now being made in Clinton for providing instruction for ministerial candidates." This committee met at Troy, where the General Convention was in session, Sept. 17, 1846. Rev. Mr. Sawyer desiring to be relieved from charge of the class, they elected Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, D. D., Principal, and requested him to remove to Clinton, and enter upon his duties as soon as possible. His salary was to have been $800, but it does not appear that the amount was ever raised. Neither was the $10,000 fund. And of the amount promised to Dr. Sawyer, hardly one half was paid. Still, under manifold difficulties and discouragements, he persevered until the class was sur-

rendered in the autumn of 1853. The following are the names of the pupils: R. P. Ambler, Thomas Angel, Thomas Borden, B. F. Bowles, J. H. Campbell, J. D. Cargill, Elijah Case, Joseph Crehore, J. E. Davenport, Joshua Davies, G. H. Deere, C. F. Dodge, Richard Eddy, Timothy Elliot, Silas Farrington, Moses Goodrich, J. H. Harter, ——— Harwood, E. M. Jenks, John Laurie, C. H. Leonard, J. W. McMaster, William McNeil, C. R. Moor, R. Partridge, B. F. Peck, Bernard Peters, P. Philleo, J. T. Powers, J. W. Putnam, Samuel Ramsey, ——— Robinson, C. A. Skinner, Nelson Snell, D. C. Tomlinson, J. H. Tuttle, H. R. Walworth. In all thirty-seven, of whom seventeen are now (1886) in the Universalist ministry, seven are deceased, ten are in secular business, two are in the Unitarian ministry, and one is with the Congregationalists.

In May, 1847, pursuant to a call published by Dr. Sawyer, as advised by prominent Universalist clergymen, a meeting was held in New York City for the purpose of discussing the establishment of a college and theological school. Many of the leading men of New England and New York were present. After discussion it was voted to establish a college to be "located in the valley of the Hudson, or the Mohawk," leaving the definite location to a Board of Trustees. It was also —

"*Resolved*, That the wants of the denomination require the permanent establishment of a Theological School; and that said school be located by a committee of seven to be chosen from among the members of this convention."

That committee were Richard Frothingham, Jr., of Charlestown; Rev. E. H. Chapin, of Boston; Rev. L. J.

Fletcher, of Cambridgeport; Rev. C. H. Fay, of Roxbury; T. R. Raymond, of Medford; Rev. L. C. Browne, of Norwich, Ct.; and Rev. T. J. Greenwood, of New London, Ct.: all from New England, it being understood that the theological school should be located in that section of the country.

Rev. Messrs. O. A. Skinner, Dolphus Skinner, and W. S. Balch were appointed agents to raise funds for the college. They proceeded to their work, which resulted in the establishment of the college in Massachusetts. Nothing came of this effort for a theological school. The N. Y. State Convention, in 1850, adopted the following: —

"*Resolved*, That in addition to the means heretofore employed for the support of a Theological School in Clinton, that all the societies in this State be requested to take up a collection for the aid of such school, previous to the first of November next, and annually thereafter, and the clergymen to urge the subject upon their attention, and that students be required to pay thirty dollars annually for their tuition."

Only eight congregations in the State of New York responded to this call; and a contribution was received from the First Society in Providence, R. I. At the State Convention held at Canton in 1851, Rev. Messrs. Eben Francis, G. W. Montgomery, J. M. Austin, Job Porter, and Richard Eddy were appointed to "take into consideration the entire educational interests of the denomination in this State, both literary and theological, and report to the Convention at its next session." A subscription was also started to provide for the expenses at Clinton during the coming year. This com-

mittee held several meetings during the year, and finally reported to the session of the Convention in Hudson, in 1852, a recommendation for the formation of a State Universalist educational society, under a constitution which was submitted with their report. They also reported that the receipts from all sources during the year for the support of the Theological School at Clinton were $396.78. The proposed constitution and rules were adopted, and during the recess of the session, "the New York Universalist Education Society" was organized, and the following were elected as the Board of Trustees: Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, Martin Thatcher, Grove Penny, O. Hutchinson, Rev. C. C. Gordon, C. L. Stickney, Philo Price, R. F. Clark, Manlius Hubbard, Jacob Harsen, Rev. Eben Francis, Rev. Geo. W. Montgomery, Geo. E. Baker, Rev. W. S. Balch, Rev. J. J. Austin, Josiah Barber.

The object of the Society, and the conditions of membership therein were thus set forth in the first and second Articles of the Constitution: —

"The object of this Society shall be to promote the cause of Education in connection with the Universalist denomination, and to aid in the education of young men of good reputation and promise, who may be desirous of entering the ministry.

"Any person may become a member of this Society, who shall contribute annually to its funds the sum of one dollar; and fifteen dollars contributed at one time shall constitute a life-member."

In April, 1853, Rev. Eben Francis, of Utica, resigned his pastorate and accepted the position of General Agent of the society. Several local agents

were also appointed. Mr. Francis having accepted an invitation to the church in Perry, N. Y., his services as General Agent ceased with the year 1853. Some months prior to this Rev. J. T. Goodrich entered the field as Agent, and being peculiarly qualified for the work met with encouraging success, and was for several years continued in the field by the Society, and subsequently by the St. Lawrence University, which grew out of this movement. Various public meetings were held in important denominational centres in the State; and as a result it appeared, at the meeting of the State Convention at Auburn, in 1854, that conditional and unconditional subscriptions aggregating $20,324.25 had been obtained. In November the subscriptions had increased to $26,397.25, and the trustees decided to take measures for putting the proposed school in operation, appointing Rev. W. S. Balch and Messrs. Havemeyer and Van Nostrand, a Committee on Location. Rev. Mr. Balch was also appointed "General Agent to supervise the raising of funds, and all the preparatory measures for the establishment of a Theological School."

In April, 1855, the Committee on Location announced in the "Christian Ambassador" that they were "prepared to attend to the duties of their appointment, by receiving applications from any place thought to be a suitable location for such an institution," and would be guided in making their decision by the following rules: —

"1. Other things being equal, that place will be preferred which will do most for the School.

"2. It must be located in some healthy, pleasant, and

easily accessible place, not far from a railroad, and near some city or village, where there is a Universalist Society, which enjoys preaching all of the time, or is fully able and *willing* to do so.

"3. A tract of good land containing not less than twenty acres, with a large and well-built house and out-buildings on or near the same, is desired for the physical culture of such students as would enjoy a sound mind in a sound body.

"4. Brethren or Societies desiring the School to be located near them, are desired to make application personally or by letter, to the Chairman of the Committee, on or before the first day of June, stating what they will do, and describing as minutely as possible the advantages of their location.

"5. On the reception and comparison of such applications, the committee will visit and inspect the various locations proposed, and make their decision according to the facts as found to exist."

At the annual meeting of the Education Society, at Utica, Aug. 29, 1855, the committee reported that they had received applications from North Bloomfield, Verona, Cazenovia, Clinton, Richmondville, Cortlandville, Poughkeepsie, Oxford, Canton, Newark, Perry, and Niagara Falls.

"Such of these places as offered inducements sufficient to warrant the location of the School, they had visited in person."

Canton, St. Lawrence Co., offered "a site of 20 acres of good arable land, centrally and beautifully located on a gentle eminence, on which site they agree to erect a good, substantial and well finished building, such as may be desired, provided the cost thereof do not exceed the sum of $11,500, which amount added to the cost

of the land and buildings thereon, which is $3,500, makes the total amount tendered, $15,000."

Cazenovia, Madison Co., "would contribute an amount that would suffice to purchase, say 20 acres of land without buildings, at $100 per acre, and $2,000 additional."

Cortlandville, Cortland Co., offered a site of 20 acres, eligibly situated, "valued at $100 per acre, in all say $2,000. In addition to this they pledge themselves to contribute the sum of $6,000."

Newark, Wayne Co. The brethren here "pledge themselves to contribute the sum of $8,000, $3,000 of which it would be necessary to apply to the purchase of one site they have in view of 20 acres, and another of 15 acres. For a third site of 20 acres with 2 houses and an orchard, $3,400 would be required. In the first two cases, $5,000 would remain to be appropriated to the building, and in the last $4,000."

Niagara Falls. "A fine and romantic site containing about six acres of land about midway between the Falls and the Suspension Bridge, is offered for the location of the School, mainly the gift of two devoted brethren. There is at present no Universalist Society in the place, but it is contemplated to organize one, and erect a house of worship."

Perry, Wyoming Co. "A beautiful and commanding site just south of the village and very near to their church, has been selected, containing 21 acres, on which are two dwelling houses and a fine orchard. The friends here offer $12,000, of which $4,500 will be required to purchase the above site — leaving $7,500 to be applied to a building."

Oxford, Chenango Co. Friends here have opened a subscription, "which they pledge themselves shall be raised to the amount of $10,000. Of the several sites which they had in view, your committee pointed out the one which they deemed the most desirable. For

the site which has on it a very good house suitable for a residence, the sum of $5,000 would be required, — leaving $5,000 to be applied to a building for the School. The other sites may be obtained at the price of $100, per acre."

Clinton, Oneida Co. "Here is located 'The Clinton Liberal Institute' which was built by the Universalist denomination, the tender of which has been informally made for our Theological School, but as the precise relation in which that Institution stands to our denomination is now in the hands of the Convention, your Committee forbear the expression of any opinion of that as a suitable location for our Theological School."

The trustees were authorized to locate the school "at such time and place as in their judgment the best interests of the cause may demand." At once the trustees empowered the Committee on Location to select the site. In the "Christian Ambassador" for Jan. 5, 1856, it was announced that final arrangements had been made for locating the school at Canton, and that the erection of a brick building one hundred by forty-five feet, and three stories high, had been contracted for. The corner-stone of this building was laid June 18, 1856, and the edifice was completed in August, 1857. Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D.D., was elected President of the school, but declined. An invitation was then extended to Rev. Ebenezer Fisher, which he accepted Feb. 13, 1858, and was inaugurated April 15. The school began April 18, with the following students: B. L. Bennett, A. J. Canfield, M. R. Leonard, J. M. Pullman.

The following spring Rev. J. S. Lee, having moved to Canton to take charge of a preparatory department of

the College, gave instruction to the theological students in the Greek language. In the fall of 1860 Rev. Massena Goodrich became connected with the school as Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature. The first class graduated April 18, 1861. The composition of the class had changed some, and the first graduates were Daniel Ballou, A. B. Hervey, M. R. Leonard, W. M. Pattee, James M. Pullman.

With the exception of the year 1867, a class has gone forth from the school each year to the present time. Including the year 1886, the whole number of graduates of the three years' course has been 152, of four years, who have taken the degree of B. D., 6; of those who have taken a partial course, 58. The school has been open to ladies as well as to gentlemen. Thirteen ladies have been in its classes, 8 of whom took the full course. Of the whole number who have been connected with the school (223), 20 have died.

The period of the war was a trying one for the school. The failure to establish a fund for the professorship so ably filled by Rev. Mr. Goodrich, occasioned his withdrawal. In 1864 a crisis came in the affairs of the school, and its continuance was contingent on the raising of a fund of not less than $25,000 for the support of a professorship. Mr. Charles A. Ropes, of Salem, Mass., to meet immediately pressing necessities, gave the sum of $1,000, and assurance that he would also give $5,000 towards permanently endowing the second professorship, provided $20,000 could be obtained from others. Rev. W. S. Balch, whose services to the school have been invaluable, took the field as Agent to raise the required amount, and succeeded; and more than

succeeded, since he also obtained the promise of $50,000 additional from Mr. John Craig, of Rochester, N. Y., which, when paid, became the foundation of the Craig professorship of Biblical Languages and Literature in the theological department, and the Craig professorship of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in the College of Letters and Science of the University.

In September, 1865, Rev. Orello Cone became Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature, — a position which he held with great honor and usefulness until 1880, when he was chosen President of Buchtel College. In 1869 Prof. J. S. Lee resigned his place in the college, and accepted the professorship of Ecclesiastical History and Biblical Archæology in the Theological School, — a position which he still retains. In 1881 Rev. H. P. Forbes succeeded Professor Cone in the Craig professorship of Biblical Languages and Literature. Dr. Fisher (the doctorate was conferred by Lombard University in 1862) continued at the head of the school during the remainder of his earthly life, which terminated suddenly, and in the building where he had taught so faithfully and wisely, Feb. 21, 1879. In September of the same year, Rev. I. M. Atwood, D. D., succeeded Dr. Fisher as President of the school.

Tufts Divinity School grew out of a provision in the will of Sylvanus Packard, Esq., — whose gifts to the college exceed in amount those of any other benefactor of the institution, — that the trustees should establish and maintain out of the rents and profits of his estate one theological professorship. The Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D. D., was elected to this professorship in 1869, and the Divinity School was then organized and opened for

the admission of students. Rev. Charles H. Leonard, D. D., was associated with Dr. Sawyer at the opening of the school. Other professors now employed are, William G. Tousey, A. M., George T. Knight, A. M., and George M. Harmon, A. M.

At first the course of study leading to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity was three years, but it was afterwards lengthened to four years, for all except college graduates. Hereafter, although a preparatory course of one year will be retained for all who have not the degree of A. B., the degree of B. D. will be given exclusively to college graduates. Since the organization of the school seventy-five students have taken the prescribed course of study and received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Two of the number have died.

Early in the year 1861 Rev. Otis A. Skinner, D. D., expressed his conviction that the time had come when a theological department at Lombard University was a necessity, and that as soon as the war was over an effort should be made to establish it. In 1868 the Executive Committee of the North-Western Conference urged that the effort be then made, but the proposal was not favorably received. The initial movement was not undertaken until September, 1880, when the Illinois Convention passed a series of resolutions on the subject, affirming that a theological school is a necessity in the Northwest, and that a professorship should at once be established. A committee was also appointed to act in the matter for Illinois, other States being invited to co-operate in raising the sum of $2,000 for the year's expense. At the beginning of the college year in September, 1881, the theological department was

opened, President White and Professors Standish and Parker taking the chairs of instruction, the pastor of the Galesburg Church, Rev. C. W. Tomlinson and other preachers assisting as lecturers. Four students entered the first class. One died in the third year of his course, another, after pursuing the studies two years, entered upon pastoral work. Including the class of 1886, four have graduated. The school is open to ladies as well as to gentlemen. President White, Professors John V. N. Standish, Ph. D., Isaac A. Parker, A. M., Rev. Everett L. Conger, A. M., and Rev. John Clarence Lee, A. M., are the resident Faculty.

Lombard University. — Lombard University, located at Galesburg, Ill., owes its existence, primarily, to the untiring efforts of Rev. C. P. West, who, encouraged by the rapid success attendant on starting the Western Liberal Institute at Marietta, Ohio, received, in May, 1850, the sanction of the Spoon River Association to his effort to establish a similar school in Illinois. At his call a meeting of the friends of the proposed school was held at Galesburg, Oct. 24, 1850. It was there "resolved, that a High School, to be owned, taught and controlled by Liberal Christians should be established," and "a permanent organization of a literary society for the purpose of carrying into effect the above resolution," was made. The capital stock was put at $5,000, divided into shares of $25 each. This stock was made taxable for the support of the school; and so sanguine were they of a profitable investment, that dividends were to be declared should the "institution yield a revenue more than sufficient for its support." Feb. 15, 1851, the school was char-

tered by the Legislature under the name of the "Illinois Liberal Institute." A substantial brick building, sixty feet long by forty feet wide, four stories high above the basement, was erected at a cost of about $10,000, and was opened Sept. 1, 1852; Rev. P. R. Kendall, Principal, and Miss Caroline S. Woodbury, "Principal of the Female Department." In a short time additional teachers were needed, and higher branches of study than had been anticipated in the original plan of the "High School or Academy." By an amendment of the charter the institute became a college, January, 1853. Collegiate courses of instruction were arranged, and a Faculty deemed sufficient was employed. The building which had been erected in 1851 was destroyed by fire, April 27, 1855, "probably through the malice of an incendiary." Mr. Benjamin Lombard donated to the college the following June $20,000, a part of the gift being eighty acres of land, on which, in 1856, the present building, a Gothic edifice, 80 feet long and 66 feet wide, was erected. In February, 1857, the charter was again amended, and the institution took the name which it now bears, — Lombard University.

Mr. Kendall retired from the presidency in August, 1856; and Prof. J. V. N. Standish was acting President during the succeeding school year. Rev. Otis A. Skinner, D. D., became President in 1857, and resigned in 1859. Rev. James P. Weston, A. M., made Doctor of Divinity by Tufts College, in 1864, was President from 1860 to 1872; Rev. William Livingston, A. M., was provisional President from 1872 to 1875. The present incumbent, Rev. Nehemiah White, Ph. D., became President in 1875. The first class graduated in 1856, and,

including the graduates of 1886, the total number of the alumni is 198. Twenty-two have died. The theological department of the University, opened in 1881, is mentioned under the head of theological schools. There is also a preparatory school. The invested funds of the University, the income of which is available, amount to about $123,000. The whole amount of college property is estimated at $200,000.

Tufts College. — In the account of efforts for the establishing of a theological school, mention is made of a meeting in New York City in May, 1847, to consider the educational needs of the church, the appointment of a committee, and the result of that action in planting a college in Massachusetts. The institution thus called into being is Tufts College, in the town of Medford. The college takes its name from the late Charles Tufts, the donor of the land on which it is located. College Hill, as the location is now called, is a beautiful and commanding eminence, four miles from Boston. It was originally called, from the trees with which it was covered, Walnut Hill, and was used after the surrender of Burgoyne as a camp for his troops until they could be shipped to England.[1] There were twenty acres in Mr. Tufts' original gift, and subsequent gifts increased the total donation of land to over one hundred acres.

In September, 1851, a meeting of the subscribers to the funds for the college was held in Boston. Rev. Otis A. Skinner, who had been appointed Agent by the committee created in 1847, made a statement that he had obtained an unconditional subscription of

[1] Rev. Thomas Whittemore, in a speech at the Universalist Festival, Faneuil Hall, May 27, 1858.

$60,000; a bond of $20,000, to be in full force when $50,000 should be paid in, and on condition that the college should be located somewhere in Massachusetts; and a deed for twenty acres of land in Medford, valued at $20,000, on condition that the college should be located upon it.

The subscribers then elected the following Board of Trustees: Hon. Israel Washburn, Jr., of Orono, Me.; Rev. Calvin Gardner, Waterville, Me.; Rev. T. J. Greenwood, Dover, N. H.; Rev. L. C. Browne, Nashua, N. H.; Rev. Eli Ballou, Montpelier, Vt.; Benjamin B. Mussey, Esq., Boston, Mass.; Oliver Dean, Esq., Franklin, Mass.; Rev. Otis A. Skinner, Boston, Mass.; Sylvanus Packard, Esq., Boston, Mass.; Rev. Thomas Whittemore, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D. D., Medford, Mass.; John Chase, Esq., Chicopee, Mass.; Joseph Pratt, Esq., Worcester, Mass.; Christopher Robinson, Esq., Woonsocket, R. I.; P. T. Barnum, Esq., Bridgeport, Ct.; Thomas Crane, Esq., New York City; Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D. D., Clinton, N. Y.; S. Barstow, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Josiah Barber, Esq., Auburn, N. Y.; Hon. John Hollister, Buffalo, N. Y.; C. H. Rogers, Esq., Philadelphia, Penn.; Hon. John Galbraith, Erie, Penn.; Rev. John A. Gurley, Cincinnati, Ohio. The board organized by choosing Rev. Dr. Sawyer, President, and Rev. O. A. Skinner, Secretary; and appointed a committee to examine and report concerning location.[1]

The claims of Franklin, Mass., Brattleboro, Vt., and Walnut Hill having been considered, the location was fixed at the last-named place. A charter was obtained

[1] Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, September 27, 1851.

from the Massachusetts Legislature, in April, 1852, which conferred power to grant every kind of degree usually given by colleges, "except medical degrees." This restriction was removed in 1867. In July, 1852, Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Sawyer was elected President of the College, but declined to accept the office on the terms prescribed. In May, 1853, Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D. D., was chosen, and filled the office until his death in May, 1861. The corner-stone of the main College hall was laid by the President in July following his election. Dr. Ballou then spent a year abroad; and on his return, the College was regularly opened for the admission of students, August, 1855. Dr. Ballou's associates in the Faculty at the opening of the College were Professors John P. Marshall, William P. Drew, and Benjamin H. Tweed. Professor Marshall is the present senior professor and Dean of the College of Letters.

Dr. Ballou's successors have been Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., from 1862 to 1875, Rev. Elmer H. Capen, D. D., the present incumbent, elected in 1875. From four professors, including the President, in 1855, the College has grown to the employment, in 1886, of seventeen professors and six assistant professors and instructors. The total number of graduates from the several departments has been about 400, of whom 27 have deceased. The power of the College and its scope of study constantly develops. Eleven full courses of electives are now open to its students, and the facilities for varied and thorough work are equal to those afforded in many much older institutions of the same professed grade.

The library of the College now contains upwards of 20,000 bound volumes, and about 9,000 pamphlets.

The collection is valuable, many of the books being rare. There are thirty scholarships in the gift of the College, and in case of need, other pecuniary help is afforded to worthy pupils, so that although the charge for tuition is $100 per year, instruction is practically free to those whose circumstances may require it.

The College has had many benefactors, chief among whom have been Charles Tufts, Sylvanus Packard, Dr. William J. Walker, Dr. Oliver Dean, Thomas A. Goddard, Mrs. Mary T. Goddard, and Hon. P. T. Barnum. Mrs. Goddard has caused the construction of two buildings, — the beautiful chapel, and the useful and excellent gymnasium. The museum of natural history established by Mr. Barnum, already adds beauty to the College grounds, and rare opportunities for pursuing a most interesting branch of study; and when completed and furnished according to the purpose of the donor, will be superior to any similar gift or growth in the land, and a fitting monument to Mr. Barnum's life-effort to please and instruct his fellow-men. The estimated value of the property of the College is $1,000,000.[1]

St. Lawrence University. — After it had been determined in 1856 to locate a theological school at Canton, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y., it occurred to the friends of the enterprise, that, as no collegiate institution existed in that region of the State, a college might be established and sustained in connection with the theological school. The project being viewed with great favor, the Legislature granted an Act of Incorporation bearing date April 3, 1856, giving legal existence to the institution, under the title of "The St.

[1] See also under the head "Theological Schools."

Lawrence University," with power to establish a college, and also a theological school, the funds of each to be kept separate. Under this act the Board of Trustees was organized at Canton, Nov. 13, 1856. The Board consisted of Jacob Harsen, Preston King, Sydney Lawrence, Geo. C. Sherman, John Russell, Francis Seger, Martin Thatcher, Barzillai Hodskin, Levi B. Storrs, Theodore Caldwell, James Sterling, F. C. Havemeyer, Caleb Barstow, Thomas Wallace, Josiah Barber, A. C. Moore, P. S. Bitley, H. W. Barton, Geo. E. Baker, Norman Van Nostrand, Thomas J. Sawyer, William S. Balch, John M. Austin, Geo. W. Montgomery. The Board organized by choosing Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D., President, Levi B. Storrs, Secretary, and Barzillai Hodskin, Treasurer. S. N. Sherman was elected a member of the board in place of Jacob Harsen, resigned. Rev. J. T. Goodrich was appointed General Agent.

In the spring of 1857 the N. Y. Legislature appropriated the sum of $25,000 in aid of the University, to be paid when the "Trustees furnish satisfactory evidence to the Comptroller that they have raised the sum of $25,000 by subscription in addition to any and all funds now held or belonging to said University." In April, 1859, a collegiate and preparatory department of the University was opened for students fitting for college, or pursuing an advanced collegiate course; Rev. J S. Lee, A. M., Principal and Professor of Greek and Latin Languages. In August, 1860, Mr. John W. Clapp became Professor of Mathematics and the Natural Sciences, and Rev. E. Fisher, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy. In April, 1865, the preparatory department was suspended, and the college

proper inaugurated, and its first class was graduated. This class consisted of only two members: Delos McCurdy and Hiram H. Ryel.

Mr. Lee remained acting President of the College of Letters and Science, and Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages till 1868; when he became Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Archæology in the theological department. Rev. Richmond Fisk, D. D., was President from 1868 to 1872; Rev. Absalom Graves Gaines was acting President in 1872, and has been President and Craig Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy since 1873. His associates in the Faculty are Rev. James Henry Chapin, Ph. D., Professor of Geology and Mineralogy; Charles Kelsey Gaines, A. M., Secretary, and Professor of the Greek Languages and Literature; Henri Hermann Liotard, A. M., Professor of the German and French Languages; Henry Priest, A. M., Professor of Mathematics; Clement Morelle Baker, A. B., Instructor in Latin. A law department was authorized by the Legislature in 1868, and opened in 1869, with the following board of instruction: Rev. R. Fisk, Jr., D. D., President; Hon. Leslie W. Russell, Professor of Personal Property, Criminal Law, Commercial Law, and Real Estate; Wm. C. Cooke, Esq., Professor of Practice, Pleadings, and Evidence; Hon. Stillman Foote, Professor of Domestic Relations, Personal Rights, Wills, and Contracts. The department was discontinued in 1872.

From the first the University has been open to both sexes, and about one third of the graduates of the College of Letters and Science are ladies. The whole number of graduates in all the departments is 322, of

whom 30 have deceased. The estimated value of the property of the University is $300,000.

There are now three buildings owned and occupied by the University, — the original edifice, erected in 1858, now used exclusively by the college department; a fireproof edifice, constructed of Potsdam granite, erected for the library in 1870; and the Fisher Memorial Hall, — a beautiful Gothic edifice of Canton marble, dedicated in June, 1883, and used exclusively by the theological school. The University library contains about nine thousand volumes of books, and provision is made for its annual increase. was the gift chiefly of the late Silas C. Herring, Esq., of New York, who also contributed half of the expense of the erection of the building, and for whom it is named.[1]

Buchtel College. — At the session of the Ohio Convention in 1867, the Committee on Education reported in favor of establishing a seminary of learning for both sexes. The following year a plan for establishing an academy was presented and unanimously adopted. In 1869 this plan was reconsidered, and so changed as to authorize the Board of Trustees and Committee on Education to proceed to establish a college. Rev. H. F. Miller was chosen general financial secretary. At a meeting of the Board in February, 1870, after considering several applications for the location of the proposed college, it was voted that the institution be proffered to Akron, on condition that the citizens of Summit County should legally secure to the State Convention $60,000. A prompt and energetic effort was

[1] For further information concerning St. Lawrence University, see under the head "Theological Schools."

made, John R. Buchtel heading the subscription with $25,000 for the endowment fund, and $6,000 for the building fund. In a short time the general financial agent reported that the sum required had been exceeded by several thousand dollars. Whereupon the Board of Trustees and Committee on Education of the Convention met at Akron, May 31, and voted, —

"That we locate said School ["The Universalist Centenary School of Ohio."] in the city of Akron, O., and that we authorize the following named persons, together with ourselves, to act as Corporators of said School, viz.: Rev. H. F. Miller, Rev. Willard Spaulding, of Cincinnati, Hamilton County, O.; Rev. George Messenger, Springfield, Clark Co., O.; Henry Blandy, Esq., Zanesville, Muskingum Co., O.; and the following named persons, resident free-holders of Summit Co., O.: John R. Buchtel, Hon. Newell D. Tibbals, Edwin P. Green, Esq., Col. George T. Perkins, James A. Lantz, and George Steese, Esq."

Being duly incorporated in accordance with the provisions of a general act of the Legislature of the State of Ohio, the institution was named "Buchtel College," in honor of its chief patron. Hon. John R. Buchtel was elected President, and Hon. S. M. Burnham, Secretary. Preparations for erecting a suitable building were at once begun, the corner-stone of which was duly laid, July 4, 1871; on which occasion Hon. Horace Greeley delivered an address on "Human Conceptions of God as they Affect the Moral Education of our Race." The building, combining in its style of architecture the Doric, Gothic, and Norman, is 240 feet long, 54 feet wide, and 5 stories high. It was opened for the reception of students, Sept. 11, 1872; and was dedicated,

and its first President, Rev. S. H. M'Collester, D. D., installed on the 22d of the same month.

Dr. M'Collester was succeeded in 1878 by Rev. E. L. Rexford, D. D., and in 1880 Rev. O. Cone, D. D., became the head of the College. The College has from the first offered its privileges equally to women and to men, and the result has been successful and satisfactory. The total number of graduates, including those of the year 1886, is 103.

Smithson College. — The first steps towards founding the institution afterwards known as Smithson College were taken in August, 1867. Shortly before that time the late Joshua Smithson, of Vevay, Ind., bequeathed two thirds of his estate in trust for the foundation of a school, and to this bequest his widow added several thousand dollars. The first plan of those interested in establishing the institution — the Universalists of the Northwest — was to make it an academy which, without attempting the higher departments of instruction, should be tributary, in common with other schools of like grade in every State of the Northwest, to some central college or university. In carrying out this plan Smithson Academy was incorporated and located at Muncie, Ind., and the Rev. H. F. Miller was appointed its Financial Agent. The project, however, was unpopular. The people throughout the State claimed that the academy met no educational demand that was not equally met by any of the High Schools, which were to be found in nearly every town. They therefore refused to endorse it, and the enterprise seemed doomed to utter failure. At this crisis Mrs. Pollard, of Logansport, came forward with a generous proposal to

donate $20,000 to the institution, provided that its grade should be raised to that of a college, and that the location should be changed to Logansport. The conditions were complied with, and the school became a college in October, 1869.

Rev. P. R. Kendall succeeded Rev. Mr. Miller as Financial Agent in 1870, and, associating with him Rev. Messrs. R. R. Biddlecome and W. W. Curry, a vigorous canvass was prosecuted. In the autumn of the same year the foundations of a college building were laid. Its site was 150 feet above the river, affording a fine prospect of the Wabash Valley. The extreme length of the building is 340 feet, and its greatest breadth 120 feet. It was arranged to accommodate 200 students with board, and was fitted with all needed conveniences. The College opened in January, 1872, under the presidency of Rev. Paul R. Kendall, who was assisted by his wife, Mrs. Caroline S. Kendall, as Lady Principal, and H. R. Burrington, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages. In 1874 Rev. Richmond Fisk, Jr., D. D., was elected President; in 1875 Rev. R. N. John became acting President, and was succeeded in 1877 by Rev. J. W. Hanson, D. D.

In constructing the building a heavy debt was incurred, and the property was mortgaged beyond the ability or willingness of its friends to redeem. In the spring of 1878 all hope of saving the institution was abandoned; the property went into the keeping of the Phœnix Insurance Company, and is now occupied by a Normal School under private management.

PUBLISHING HOUSE. — That the productions of the press are powerful educators of the people, all acknowl-

edge; and the Universalists of America have given ample evidence of their appreciation of the fact, as the pages of the accompanying bibliography attest. Of necessity, the work of publishing periodicals, pamphlets, and books in defence of Universalism was for a long time a merely personal enterprise, in which, so far as pecuniary results were concerned, there was a varied experience of loss and gain. The efforts to establish and sustain periodicals often resulted in disappointment and failure, rarely in remuneration for time and material. With capital always limited, and sometimes wholly wanting, and practical knowledge obtained only at costly experience, it is a wonder, not that so many failed, but that so many achieved any degree of success, and were strong-hearted enough to persevere.

The desire for a Universalist Publishing House had long been cherished, but no decisive step was taken towards its realization until the last of January, 1862, when a meeting was held in Boston to consider the ways and means of establishing "a denominational paper, to be the organ of the Universalists of Massachusetts, and of such other States as shall elect." It was proposed to organize a corporation the total number of shares in which should be two hundred and fifty, an Act of Incorporation to be taken out when the full number of shares had been subscribed. The Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Universalist Convention cordially approved the plan, and the stock was at once taken, the originally proposed amount being enlarged. The stockholders organized the 21st of April, 1862. Correspondence and interviews with the proprietors of the denominational papers published in New

England, made manifest the impracticability of attempting negotiations with any except the proprietors of the "Trumpet and Freeman," these two Boston papers having been a short time before united. These proprietors also proposed that there be included in the transfer, the Sunday-school paper, the "Myrtle," and the bookstore at 37 Cornhill. A mutually chosen board of referees adjusted the terms of transfer, and the corporation took possession, Oct. 20, 1862; thus speedily realizing what they had at first thought might after some months or years be a possibility, — the establishing of a publication house. The name of the new corporation was "The New England Universalist Publishing House."

In 1865 the book and publishing business of Tompkins and Co. of Boston was purchased, and the denominational publishing business in Boston was centred in the corporation. In 1867 the name of the corporation was changed. It is now "Universalist Publishing House."

In 1870 the old established Universalist organ of Vermont, the "Christian Repository," was purchased by the House, and its list of subscribers was transferred to the "Universalist."

One of the by-laws early adopted contained this provision: —

"When the business of the Corporation shall have paid its expenses and redeemed the stock, the stockholders shall transfer all its rights and interests, in trust, to twenty-one permanent, or Life Trustees, for the benefit of the Universalist denomination. Said trustees to be at first elected by the stockholders, the principle of selection to be based on the pro rata interest in the

subscription list of the weekly paper at the time of said election."

The contingency thus provided for was met in May, 1871. An Act of Incorporation was then accepted, trustees elected, and the transfer made. Fourteen members of the first board were from Massachusetts, two from Rhode Island, one from Connecticut, two from Vermont, one from Maine, and one from New Hampshire.

In 1873 a Publication Fund was commenced by gifts aggregating $2,545. Subsequently Mrs. Mary T. Goddard made a donation to the permanent funds of $10,000. The Publication Fund now amounts to $17,000, and the income "is devoted to the reduction of the price of books, in many cases by paying for the cost of the plates, thus enabling the House to sell books independently of the outlay required for that purpose." In 1873 the House purchased the "Sunday School Helper," a magazine which it continues to publish, as an expositor of the Sunday-school Lessons. In 1879 it purchased the "Christian Leader," published at Utica, N. Y., united it with the "Universalist," and gave to the consolidated paper the name of the "Christian Leader." In 1881 it obtained by purchase many of the important publications of the late firm of Williamson & Cantwell, Cincinnati. In December, 1883, the House purchased of Rev. J. W. Hanson, D. D., the "Star and Covenant," published at Chicago, together with the books and plates owned by Dr. Hanson; and on the 1st of January, 1884, enlarged the paper, and changed its name to the "Universalist." The business in Chicago is conducted under the name and style "Universalist Publishing House, Western Branch."

The net assets of the House are about $65,000, consisting of periodicals, books, plates, etc. It publishes and owns the titles of one hundred and fifty volumes and six periodicals. The business for the year ending in May, 1886, was the heaviest in the history of the House, the receipts being $71,097.60.

CONCLUSION. — It would seem from the foregoing pages of this volume, that from 1820 to 1840 was the period in which Universalists were most active and aggressive. And to the careless reader or superficial observer, it may also seem that since that time no great progress has been made; that possibly there has been a retrograde movement, especially in point of numbers.

It is true that the period indicated above was one of great activity and of apparent prosperity, but not of substantial growth in things essential to denominational permanence. It was a time when a belligerent attitude was an unavoidable necessity. Universalists were assailed not merely with arguments, but with invective. The religious press, the pulpits, and especially the revivalists attacked Universalism, not only as an error of belief, but as positive wickedness of character. Knapp, Burchard, Littlejohn, and other revivalists then prominently before the public, were maligners. Universalists were everywhere opposed, their opinions caricatured, their characters aspersed, their motives characterized as irreligious and evil. Even so dignified a magazine as "The Christian Spectator," asserted that Universalism was "brought forward to quiet the conscience in the commission of sin." And the article containing this unchristian charge was printed as a

handbill and gratuitously distributed.[1] The Unitarians, through their organ, "The Christian Register," joined in the abuse. It said of Universalists: —

"We do not believe that *one half* of those who are *ostensibly* of this sect, are satisfied and established in the belief of its doctrines; especially in the loose (and to the unprincipled and vicious, the attractive) form advocated by the most numerous class of Universalist preachers in New England. . . . We will not disguise our belief that multitudes who embrace these doctrines, embrace them because they are so congenial with the debased and perverted feelings of their corrupted and depraved hearts; because being a religion without sanctions, it lays no restraint on their vicious propensities and passions, and their impure and depraved habits; because it is a religion which flatters them with the hope of being saved *in their sins;* which allows them to be slaves to their own lusts and passions, and to bury themselves in their own lusts and impurities so long as the poor remnant of their mortal strength lasts them, and then by the magical transformations of the grave, to become at once the very pure and accepted servants of a Spirit of infinite perfection and purity."[2]

That under such provocations Universalists should have fought with the sword in both hands, dealing vigorous blows against arrogant Pharisaic conceit, and making telling thrusts against the pretentious learning and respectability which was no bar to misrepresentation, and lacked the courage to avow the conclusions necessitated by its acknowledged premises, and should even have become simply anti-orthodox in the estima-

[1] Christian Repository, vol. iv., Oct., 1823, p. 129.
[2] Christian Register, May 21, 1824.

tion of many, need excite no wonder. They were but men, and they would have been less than men if they had not had the courage of their convictions and fought for the vindication of the truth.

But we cannot deny that such enforced strife had its perils and dangers. But they are none the less heroes and deserving of praise who have thus planted themselves against the bigotry and Pharisaism of their day and generation, even if by so doing they have exposed themselves and their cause to risks. Contention begets the habit of contention. Sympathy with those who are abused often temporarily allies to their cause men who have no clear ideas in relation to its positive demands; no tenacity of purpose in building it up for its own sake; no special affinity for it when, having secured general respect, it ceases to be persecuted. Zeal in propagating doctrines under the pressure of opposition incurs the liability of planting more than can be properly tended and cared for, and so of gaining only temporary success. Organization that shall be permanent requires a concentration of energy and effort, not possible when every preacher feels that his field is the world, and that he must sow the seed everywhere because the truth is everywhere spoken against. And since the power arrayed against the truth was a well-organized force, it argued in many minds against organization of any kind, and in many instances where a form of organization was effected, the essentials of success were lacking.

These were the special risks that were incurred in this period of strife. Following these came dangers of another kind, to which we can merely allude.

German Rationalism, which has made such havoc in the ranks of so-called Liberal Christians, sought a foothold in the Universalist Church, and for a few years, dating from about 1843, fascinated some of the younger preachers; necessitating an examination and expression of opinion by our ecclesiastical councils, which was thorough, emphatic, decisive. The seal of denominational disapprobation was put upon all attempts to eliminate the supernatural element from the Christian records, and an earnest and unambiguous deliverance was made that the Universalist Church bows to the Lordship of Jesus Christ and accepts his religion as a revelation from God.

Our abiding growth dates from the time of our development of organized power, — the adoption of a polity that holds preachers and laymen in loyalty to the Church, in unity of effort for planting and sustaining its institutions. Within less than two score years we have made our real, our lasting gains. Our churches, our conventions, our schools and colleges, — all our denominational interests, — attest healthy growth; while the central truth proclaimed by the fathers grows more dear to us, and Protestant Christians generally haste to share the blessing.

NOTE.

In making up the following catalogue of the literature of Universalism it has been the aim of the compiler to furnish as complete a list as lay in his power of all that has been published in America either for or against the doctrine of Universal Salvation. Had the list included all that has been written by professed believers in Universalism, or even by its preachers, on the reforms of the age, or on other subjects of general interest, the catalogue would have been at least double its present size.

In a few instances titles of books published abroad are given, either because the authors were Americans or their themes bore directly on American Universalism. Articles from the various denominational reviews bearing on the subject of Universalism are noted; but contributions to Universalist magazines are not indicated, except where they are replies to attacks on Universalism, have been suggested by the modifications of so-called Orthodoxy, are of historic significance, or are especially notable presentations of some phases of Universalist belief.

The periodical literature of Universalism embraces many titles; but as much of it was ephemeral the list is probably incomplete. Pamphlet literature has been numerous, but not a little of it was probably local both in its circulation and fame; and while unwearied efforts have been made to obtain information concerning all, doubtless some is unmentioned.

For the most part titles are given in full, and, where abbreviated, care has been taken to omit nothing necessary to an apprehension of the scope of the author's effort. So far as it has been possible to make a personal examination of books, pamphlets, or periodicals, titles are given with literal exactness. In some cases the compiler's only knowledge of a publication has been from its advertisement or other notice in a periodical. Many valuable suggestions have been received from Dr. Ezra Abbot's "Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life," published as an appendix to Rev. W. R. Alger's "Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life," and from the "Collections toward a Bibliography of Congregationalism," appended to Rev. Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter's "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature." Grateful acknowledgment of indebtedness to these sources, as also to personal friends and to librarians generally, is here made.

The order of arranging the collection is chronological as to years, but not as to lesser divisions of time. Under each year the arrangement is alpha-

betical This sometimes incurs disadvantage and seeming awkwardness where a criticism or review of a work is mentioned before the work itself is brought to notice, but the ease with which a title under any given year can thus be found is believed to be a more than counterbalancing advantage. Where a date is placed in brackets it indicates that no date of publication is assigned on the titlepage, but that the date given is probably the correct one. An author's name enclosed in brackets indicates that no authorship is acknowledged on the titlepage, but that there are supposed to be good reasons for the authorship designated. The abbreviations employed will, it is believed, be generally understood; but it may be well to state that n. d. signifies no date given, n. i. no imprint, n. p. not paged, v. p. variously paged.

It is hoped that the publication of this bibliography will serve the double purpose of informing the public what our literature is, and of inciting to such additions and corrections as will make future catalogues more accurate and complete.

LIST OF LIBRARIES REFERRED TO.

A. A. S. . . . Library of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
B. A. . . . Library of Boston Athenæum, Boston, Mass.
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B. U. . . . Library of Brown University, Providence, R. I.
C. . . . Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
D. . . . Library of Henry Martyn Dexter, D.D., New Bedford, Mass.
E. . . . Library of Richard Eddy, D.D., Melrose, Mass.
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H. D. . . . Library of Harvard College Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.
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N. E. M. . . . Library of New England Methodist Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
R. B. . . . Ridgway Branch of Philadelphia Library, Philadelphia, Pa.
R. I. H. S. . . . Library of Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.
St. L. . . . Library of St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.
T. . . . Library of Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.
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1785. Rev. Samuel Peters, A.M. A Letter to the Rev. John Tyler, A.M., concerning the Possibility of Eternal Punishments, and the Improbability of Universal Salvation. *London.* 8vo, pp. 24. A. A. S. 47

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1786. [SHIPPIE TOWNSEND.] A Collection of Songs, designed for Entertainment and Edification. *Boston.* 12mo, pp. 32. T. 57

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1883. REV. E. C. SWEETSER, D.D. The Necessity of a Change in the Language of our Creed. *Universalist Quarterly* New Series. Vol. xx., pp. 34–42. E. 2068

1883. J. H. D. ZSCHOKKE. Meditations on Life, Death, and Eternity. Translated by Frederica Rowan. *Boston.* 16mo 2069

1883–4. REV. STEPHEN CRANE. New Orthodoxy: or the Tendency of Sin to Permanence. *Universalist Quarterly.* New Series. Vol. xx., pp 413–424; Vol. xxi., pp. 31–44, 196–213. 2070

[1884.] REV. G. L. DEMAREST, D.D. The Universalist Church and its Work. n. d.; n. i. 12mo, pp. 8. 2071

1884. RICHARD EDDY, D.D. Universalism in America, a History. Vol. i. 1636–1800. *Boston.* 12mo, pp. vi., 554. 2072

1884. [REV. GEORGE HILL, Compiler.] The Minister's Assistant: containing Scriptural Selections for Public and Private Use. *Boston.* 16mo, pp. 115. E. 2073

1884–6. J. W. HANSON, D.D. The New Covenant: containing I. An Accurate Translation of the New Testament; II. A Harmony of the Four Gospels; III. A Chronological Arrangement of the Text; IV. A Brief and Handy Commentary. Vol. i. The Four Gospels *Boston* and *Chicago.* 12mo, pp. 358. Vol. ii. Acts, the Epistles, Revelation. *Boston.* 12mo, pp. xvi., 416. 2074

1884. O. D. MILLER, S.T.D. Preaching the Gospel to the Dead. *Universalist Quarterly.* New Series. Vol. xxi., pp. 45–54. E. 2075

1884. HELEN HINSDALE RICH. A Dream of the Adirondacks, and other poems. *New York.* 12mo, pp. xi., 171. E. 2076

1884. REV. O. F. SAFFORD. The Gospel of Perdition according to Joseph Cook. *Universalist Quarterly.* New Series. Vol. xxi., pp. 179–190. E. 2077

1885–6. A List of Books for Sunday School Libraries, Approved by the Library Commission of the Universalist General Convention. *Boston.* 12mo, pp. 26. First Supplement, pp. 12. Second Supplement, pp. 24. E. 2078

1885. Descriptive Catalogue of the Universalist Publishing House, Boston, Mass., with a Short History of the House, and an Outline of its Plan of Organization. *Boston.* 12mo, pp. 83. [A second edition. pp. 85.] E. 2079

1885. J. W. HANSON, D.D. Voices of the Faith. A Birthday Book, containing a selection for every day in the year, from writers expressing the Universalist Faith. *Boston.* 16mo, pp. 413. E. 2080

1885. HANSON — HANSON. Eliza Rice Hanson, a Memorial by her Husband. *Chicago.* 4to. 2081

1885. [O. HUTCHINSON.] Theology of Nature and Revelation. By an Amateur Theologian. *New-York.* 12mo, pp. 55. E. 2082

1885. REV. I. C. KNOWLTON. Through the Shadows. *Boston.* 16mo, pp. 210. E. 2083

1885. JOHN M. MUSCOTT. Remarkable Concessions, tending to prove the truth of Universal Salvation, in the very words of eminent authors and eminent divines, who are mostly disbelievers of that doctrine. With notes and observations. *Lyons*, Kansas. 12mo, pp. 64. E. 2084

1885. REV. H. R. NYE. Universalism; a brief Statement of the Universalist Belief. *Boston.* 12mo, pp. 46. E. 2085

1885. [Daniel Seagrave.] History, Biographical Sketches of Pastors, Confession of Faith and Constitution; also a list of members from 1843 to 1885 of the First Universalist Church, Worcester, Mass. *Worcester.* 12mo, pp. 50. 2086

1885. Rev. Anson Titus. Reminiscences of Early American Universalism. Universalism in Maine prior to 1820 *Universalist Quarterly.* New Series. Vol. xxii., pp. 430–453. 2087

1886. Elbridge S. Brooks. An Aggressive Universalism. An Address delivered before the New York Universalist Club. *New York.* 16mo, pp. 24. E. 2088

1886. Centenary Voices; or a Part of the Work of the women of the Universalist Church, from its Centenary Year to the Present Time. *Philadelphia.* 12mo, pp. xxxii., 278. E. 2089

1886. Dr. Hermann Cremer. Beyond the Grave. Translated from the German by the Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, D.D. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D. *New York.* 16mo, pp. xxxviii., 153. E. 2090

1886. Rev. S. A. Gardner. Latest Interpretations. *Boston.* 12mo, pp. 208. E. 2091

1886. Rev. M. H. Houghton What Universalism is not and what it is. *Storm Lake*, Iowa. 16mo, pp. 15. E. 2092

1886. Manual of the Woman's Universalist Missionary Society of Massachusetts. Charter and By-Laws. By-Laws adopted Jan. 5, 1886 Charter issued Jan. 8, 1886. *Boston.* 16mo, pp. 12. E. 2093

1886. O. D. Miller, S.T.D. Catholicism and Universalism from the Standpoint of Philosophy. Part. I. *Universalist Quarterly* New Series Vol. xxiii., pp. 5–21. Part II pp. 281–297. 2094

1886. Austin Phelps, D.D. My Study, and other Essays. *New York* 12mo, pp. viii., 319. 2095

1886. William G. T. Shedd, D.D. The Doctrine of Endless Punishment. *New York.* 8vo, pp. vii., 163. E. 2096

PERIODICALS.

1793. The Free Universal Magazine, being (in part) a display of the mind of Jesus, as manifested to his servants, the members of the New and Free Church; together with Foreign Intelligence and Domestic Occurrences of a Religious Nature. Edited by Rev. Abel Sarjent. Quarterly, 12mo. *New York* and *Baltimore.* [One Vol. only.] U. 2097

1802-9. The Berean: or Scripture Searcher. *Boston.* 12mo, v. p. [8 Nos. irregularly published; Nos. 1-6 were republished in 1804.] 2098

1810. Religious Inquirer. Quarterly, 8vo. [Organ of the Western Association, N. Y. Only one No. issued.] 2099

1811-2. The Gospel Visitant. By the Gloucester Conference. Vol. I. Superintended by Thomas Jones, Gloucester, Cape Ann. Hosea Ballou, Portsmouth, N. H.; Abner Kneeland, Charlestown, Mass.; and Edward Turner, Salem, Mass., Ministers of the several Universalist Societies in those places. Quarterly. *Charlestown.* 8vo. E. [See No. 2101 for Vol. ii.] 2100

1817. The Gospel Visitant, being principally Original Tracts on Moral and Religious Subjects. Edward Turner and Hosea Ballou, editors. Vol. ii. Quarterly, 8vo. *Salem.* [See No. 2100.] E 2101

1819-20. The Herald of Life and Immortality. Edited by Rev. Elias Smith. Quarterly. *Boston.* 12mo, pp 36. [Suspended after the issue of the 8th No.] E. 2102

1819-21. The Christian Messenger. 4to. weekly *Philadelphia.* [Established in Aug. 1819 by Jonathan Gardner, a liberal Presbyterian; in Oct. passed into Universalist hands, Rev. Abner Kneeland, editor. 2 vols.] 2103

1819-28. The Universalist Magazine. *Boston* 4to, weekly. 9 vols. [Vols. i. and ii. edited by Rev. Hosea Ballou, ten months of Vol. iii. edited by 2104

Mr. —— Foster; the balance of the vol. and to close of Vol. vii. by Revs. Hosea Ballou, Hosea Ballou, 2d, and Thomas Whittemore; Vols. viii. and ix. by Revs. H. Ballou and T. Whittemore. Continued as No. 2134.] E, T., U.

1820-26. The Gospel Herald. Edited by Henry Fitz. *New York.* [Vol. i. 4to. All subsequent vols. 8vo. All weekly except Vol. v., which was semi-monthly. 6 vols. In 1827 became No. 2129.] 2105

1821-3. The Philadelphia Universalist Magazine and Christian Messenger. Devoted to doctrine, religion, and morality. Edited by Rev. Abner Kneeland. Monthly. *Philadelphia.* 8vo. U. 2106

1821-9. The Christian Repository Once in two months, 12mo. [Rev. Samuel C. Loveland, editor of Vols. i.–v. and ix.; Rev. Robert Bartlett, Vols. vi.–viii *Woodstock*, Vt. See No. 2138.] 2107

1821-37. The Christian Intelligencer. Quarterly, 8vo. Rev. Russell Streeter, editor. *Portland*, Me. [In a short time it was issued semi-monthly. In 1826 the paper was removed to *Gardiner*, Rev William A. Drew, editor, 1835, Rev. N. C. Fletcher became editor, the paper having meanwhile become a folio, weekly Discontinued in 1837.] 2108

1821-47. The Religious Inquirer. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev Richard Carrique, editor. *Hartford*, Ct. [Rev. John Bisbe, jr., editor of Vols. iv. and v., Rev. Russell Canfield of Vol. vi, Rev Robert Smith of Vol. xii. In 1834 united with No. 2150, and became the *Religious Inquirer and Gospel Anchor*, Revs. Isaac D. Williamson and Rufus O Williams, editors. In 1847, merged in No 2173.] 2109

1822-4. The Herald of Salvation. Edited by Rev. Pitt Morse. 8vo, semi-monthly. *Watertown*, N. Y. [At close of Vol ii. was merged in No. 2119. See also No. 2123.] E. 2110

1823. The Gospel Inquirer. Semi-monthly, 8vo Rev George B. Lisher, publisher and editor. *Little Falls*, N Y. At the close of the vol. was united with No 2119.] 2111

1823-4. The Evangelical Repertory, a Monthly Magazine, edited by Rev Edward Turner. *Charlestown* 8vo, pp 16. [Only one vol.] E. 2112

1823-9. The Gospel Advocate 8vo, weekly. *Buffalo*, N. Y. [Vols. i.–iv., Rev. Thomas Gross, editor, Vol. v., Revs. L. S Everett and T. Fisk; Vols. vi. and vii., Rev. O A. Brownson. Moved to *Auburn* in 1827. At close of Vol. vii. united with No. 2130.] 2113

1824. The Gazetteer. Rev. Abner Kneeland, editor. 4to, weekly. *Philadelphia.* 2114

1824. The Rochester Magazine and Theological Review. Monthly, 8vo Rev. John Samuel Thompson, editor. *Rochester*, N. Y [Merged in 1825 in No. 2119.] 2115

1824-5. The Messenger of Peace. Edited by Rev. Richard Carrique Royal 8vo, semi-monthly. *Hudson*, N. Y. [Discontinued at close of Vol. i.] U. 2116

1824-8. The Christian Telescope. Weekly, 4to. *Providence*, R. I. Edited by Rev. David Pickering. [Name changed with Vol. iii. to *Christian Telescope and Universalist Miscellany.* In 1829 united with No 2109.] 2117

1825. Evangelical Restorationist. Semi-monthly, 4to. Edited by Revs. B. Streeter and D Skinner. *Troy*, N. Y. 2118

1825. The Universalist. Semi-monthly, 8vo Revs. John S. Thompson, Stephen R. Smith, and George B. Lisher, editors *Utica*, N Y [A union of Nos. 2110, 2111, 2115.] 2119

1825-6. The Candid Examiner. Rev. Charles R Marsh, editor. Royal 8vo, semi-monthly. *Montrose*, Pa. [Two vols.] 2120

1825-7 The Christian Visitant. Monthly, 12mo. Edited by Rev. William A. Drew. *Belfast*, Me. [Two vols.] E. 2121

1826. The Star of the South. Edited by Rev. Michael Smith. 4to *Milledgeville*, Ga. [Mainly a reprint of "The Religious Inquirer," No. 2109.] 2122

1826-7. The Herald of Salvation. New Series. Revs. Stephen R. Smith and Pitt Morse, editors. [See Nos. 2110, 2136.] *Philadelphia.* E. 2123

1826-8. THE LIBERALIST. Rev. Jacob Frieze, editor. *Wilmington*, N. C. [First vol. 8vo, semi-monthly; second and third vols. folio, weekly.] 2124

1827. THE GOSPEL PREACHER. Monthly, 8vo. Rev. David Pickering, editor. *Providence*, R. I. 2125

1827. THE LAMP OF LIBERTY. Edited by Rev. Abel M. Sargent. 8vo. *Cincinnati*, Ohio. [Irregular issue; ten Nos. were published.] 2126

1827-8. THE DAY STAR. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev. Jonathan Wallace, editor. *Potsdam*, N. Y. [Discontinued and merged in No. 2130 in May, 1828.] 2127

1827-8. THE EVANGELICAL REPOSITORY. Edited by Rev. Lemuel Willis. *Troy*, N. Y. Royal 8vo, semi-monthly. [At close of vol. united with No. 2130.] 2128

1827-8. THE OLIVE BRANCH. 4to, weekly. Edited by Rev. Abner Kneeland. [In 1828 became *The Olive Branch and Christian Inquirer*. 8vo, weekly. Continued as No. 2136.] *New York*. 2129

1827-50. THE UTICA MAGAZINE. Weekly, 4to. *Utica*, N. Y. [Impersonal editor until the 10th No. of Vol. i., when Rev. Dolphus Skinner became editor and proprietor. With Vol. ii. absorbed No. 2128, and became the *Utica Evangelical Magazine;* Jan., 1830, absorbed No. 2113, and became *The Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*. Vols. ix.–xiv., Rev. Aaron B. Grosh, editor; Vol. xv., Rev. Henry B. Soule; Vols. xvi.-xx., Rev. Dolphus Skinner. With Vol. xx. united to No. 2153, and was removed to *New York*. See No. 2250.] 2130

1827-80. STAR IN THE WEST. Monthly, 8vo. Edited by Rev. Jonathan Kidwell and D. D. Hall. *Eaton*, Ohio. [In 1829 became *The Sentinel and Star in the West*, weekly, 4to. Rev. J. Kidwell, Rev. J. C. Waldo, and S. Tizzard, editors. Published in *Cincinnati*, Ohio. Published in *Philomath*, Ind., 1833–6, when it returned to *Cincinnati*. S. Tizzard and Rev. George Rogers, editors. In 1838 it became again *Star in the West*. Rev. John A. Gurley, editor to 1854; Rev. G. W. Quinby, 1854-7; Rev. H. R. Nye, 1857-9; Revs. H. R. Nye and G. L. Demarest, 1859-64; Rev. G. L. Demarest, 1864-5; Revs. I. D. Williamson, D.D., and J. S. Cantwell, D.D., 1865-80, when it was merged in No. 2236.] 2131

1828. THE DIALOGICAL INSTRUCTOR. 4to, semi-monthly. Edited by Rev. Adin Ballou. *New York*, N. Y. [Discontinued with the 13th No., and subscription list transferred to No. 2134.] 2132

1828-9. THE SPIRIT OF THE PILGRIMS AND MESSENGER OF RECONCILIATION. Edited by Rev. James H. Bugbee. Semi-monthly, royal 8vo. *Plymouth*, Mass. [In Feb. 1829 united with No. 2134.] 2133

1828-64. TRUMPET AND UNIVERSALIST MAGAZINE. Weekly, folio. *Boston*. [Continuation of No. 2104. Vol. i. new series, Vol. x. old series. Revs. R. Streeter and T. Whittemore, editors and publishers. All subsequent vols. edited and published by Rev. T. Whittemore, until his decease in March, 1861. Rev. J. S. Barry editor, 1861–2. In 1862 united with No. 2189, and became *The Trumpet and Christian Freeman*. Revs. S. Cobb, G. W. Quinby, and J. M. Usher, editors to Nov.; Revs. G. H. Emerson and S. Cobb, from Nov. 1862, to May, 1864. Continued as No. 2262.] 2134

1829. THE UNIVERSALIST PREACHER. Monthly, 8vo. Rev. Abel C. Thomas, editor. *New York*. 2135

1829-31. GOSPEL HERALD AND UNIVERSALIST REVIEW. *New York*. Semi-monthly, 8vo. [Vol. i., Rev. T. Fisk, editor; Vol. ii., Rev. A. C. Thomas; Vol. iii., J. D. Coleman and Rev. O. Whiston. A union of Nos. 2123, 2129.] 2136

1829-38. DER FROEHLICHE BOTSCHAFTER, Bertheidiger der Universal Erloesung, und Waechter der gewissens Freiheit. G. Grosh und J. Myers, editors. Monthly. *Lancaster County*, Pa. 8vo, pp. 16. 2137

1829-74. WATCHMAN AND CHRISTIAN REPOSITORY. Weekly, 4to. Rev. William Bell editor to 1835. *Woodstock*, Vt. [It was then united with No. 2160, and became the *Watchman, Impartialist, and Christian Repository*. Revs. J. M. Austin and B. H. Fuller, editors. In 1836 its form was changed to 4to. Revs. John Moore and B. H. Fuller, editors. *Montpelier*, Vt. Same year Rev. John Gregory, editor. In 1839 it became the *Green Mountain Evangelist and Universalist* 2138

Watchman. Revs. Russell Streeter, Warren Skinner, J. E. Palmer, J. Wright, editors. 1840-70, Rev. Eli Ballou, editor. In 1874 merged in No. 2262.]

1830. The Hierarchal Castigator and Falcon. Folio, semi-monthly. Edited by an association of Gentlemen. *Milford*, Pa. 2139

1830. New York Amulet and Ladies' Literary and Religious Chronicle. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev. T. Fisk, editor. *New York* and *Philadelphia.* 2140

1830. Priestcraft Unmasked. Semi-monthly, 8vo. [Probably edited by Rev. T. Fisk.] *New York* and *Philadelphia.* 2141

1830-1. The Philanthropist. Folio, weekly. "Conducted by an association of gentlemen." *Ithaca*, N. Y. [Subsequently edited by Henry J. Grew.] 2142

1830-2. The Universalist Expositor. Published once in two months. [Revs. H. Ballou and H. Ballou, 2d, editors of Vol. i.; Rev. L. S. Everett associated with them in editing Vol. ii.] *Boston.* 8vo, pp. 64. E. [Republished, *New York*, 1846. See No. 2166.] 2143

1831. Genius of Christianity and Harbinger of Peace. Folio, weekly. J. T. Parker, editor. *Castleton*, Vt. 2144

1831. The Liberal Companion. Folio, weekly. Editor's name not given. *Gloucester*, Mass. 2145

1831. Reformed Christian Guide. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. John Samuel Thompson, editor. *New York.* 2146

1831-2. Herald of Freedom. Folio, weekly. Rev. Lewis F. W. Andrews, editor. *Bethel*, Ct. 2147

1831-3. The Christian Preacher. Monthly, 8vo. Rev. William A. Drew, editor. *Augusta*, Me. 2148

1831-3. The Genius of Liberty. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev. Lewis C. Todd, editor. *Jamestown*, N. Y. 2149

1831-4. The Gospel Anchor. 4to, weekly. Edited by Revs. Clement F. Le Fevre and Isaac D. Williamson. *Troy*, N. Y. [In 1834 united with No. 2109.] 2150

1831-7. Southern Pioneer and Gospel Visitor. Monthly, 8vo. Revs. O. A. Skinner and J. B Pitkin, editors. *Baltimore*, Md., and *Richmond*, Va. [Vols. iii. and iv., 4to, semi-monthly. In 1835 No. 2161 was united with it, and the name became *Southern Pioneer and Philadelphia Liberalist*, Revs. O. A. and S. P. Skinner, editors; in 1836 became a weekly, Revs. L. F. W. Andrews, George C. McCune, Robert Smith, editors. In April, 1837, it was united with No. 2173.] 2151

1831-9. The Independent Messenger. Weekly, folio. Rev. Adin Ballou, editor. [Vol. i. published in *Boston.* Part of Vol. ii. in *Mendon*, the balance in *Boston.* Vols. iii. and iv. in *Mendon*, the balance of the issue in *Boston.* Rev. Paul Dean was resident editor from 1835 to 1838. The last vol. was edited by Mr. —— Thornton. In 1836, the title was changed to *Independent Messenger; the Restorationist Advocate.*] 2152

1831-50. The Christian Messenger. Weekly, 4to. Rev. T. J. Sawyer and P. Price, editors. *New York.* 4 vols. [The third vol., *New York Christian Messenger and Philadelphia Universalist.* At close of Vol. iv. united with others, and became No. 2173. In 1840 the publication was resumed, Philo Price, editor, 1840-47; Revs. S. C. Bulkeley, O. A. Skinner, and W. S. Balch, 1847-8; Revs. D. Skinner, W. S. Baich, O. A. Skinner, B. B. Hallock, and H. Lyon, 1849-50. In 1851 it was merged in No. 2250.] 2153

1832. The Comet. Semi-monthly. 4to. *Minisink*, N. Y. 2154

1832. Gospel Witness. Folio, weekly. Rev. Lewis F. W. Andrews, editor. *Hartford*, Ct. 2155

1832-3. The Christian's Bower and Northern Luminary. Semi-monthly, 8vo. Rev. J. Bradley, editor. *Keeseville*, N. Y. 2156

1832-3. The Herald of Gospel Truth, and Watchman of Liberty. Semi-monthly, 4to. Revs. George Rogers and Alfred Peck, editors. *Montrose*, Pa. [In 1833 was merged in No. 2153.] 2157

1832 3. The New-Haven Examiner. Folio, weekly. Rev. T. Fisk, editor. *New Haven*, Ct. 2158

1832-5. The Christian Visitant: a collection of Essays, principally original, by various authors, in defence of Universalism. Rev. A. B. Grosh, editor. *Utica*, N. Y. 12mo, pp. 12. E. 2159

1832-5. The Impartialist. Folio, weekly. Revs. William S. Balch, William S. Ballou, Samuel Clark, and Moses Ballou, editors. *Claremont*, N. H. [In 1835 was merged in No. 2138.] 2160

1832-5. The Philadelphia Liberalist. Weekly, folio. Rev. Zelotes Fuller, editor. *Philadelphia.* [At close of third vol. united with No. 2151.] 2161

1832-6. Christian Pilot. Small folio, weekly. *Portland*, Me. Rev. Menzies Rayner and Samuel Brimblecom, editors of Vols. i.–iii. Vol. iv., edited by Rev. Zenas Thompson. [United with No. 2174 at close of Vol. iv.] 2162

1832-74. The Universalist. Weekly, 8vo. Vol. i., *Boston* and *Lowell*. pp. 8. [Vol. i., edited by Revs. B. Whittemore, C. Gardner, J. H. Bugbee, L. S. Everett, and S. Streeter. Vol. ii., Rev. D. D. Smith, editor and proprietor. *Boston.* In January, 1834, the name was changed to *The Universalist and Ladies' Repository*, 16 pp., published once in two weeks. The third vol. was a 4to, pp. 8. Vol. iv., it became an imperial 8vo, pp. 40, published monthly, and so continued to 1874. Rev. A. A. Folsom, editor from June to August, 1836, when he was succeeded by Rev. Henry Bacon, editor till his death in March, 1856. Miss Sarah C. Edgarton was associate editor with Mr. Bacon from 1840 to 1843. Mrs. E. A. Bacon edited the twenty-fifth to the twenty-ninth vols.; Mrs. C. M. Sawyer, the thirtieth to the thirty-third vols.; Mrs. Sarah A. Nowell, Vol. xxxiv.; Mrs. Phebe A. Hanaford, the thirty-fifth to the fortieth vols.; Mrs. Henrietta A. Bingham from January, 1869, Vol. xli., to the suspension of the Magazine in December, 1874. With the twelfth vol. the title was changed to *The Ladies' Repository;* and again with the fifty-first vol. to *The Repository.*] 2163

1833. Herald of Universal Salvation. Folio, weekly. Rev. T. Fisk, editor. *New Haven*, Ct. 2164

1833. Theological Repository. Folio, weekly. Rev. E. A. Garfield, and J. P. Ladd, editors. *North Hero*, Vt. 2165

1833-4. The Expositor and Universalist Review. Vol. i. New Series, Vol. iii. Old Series. [See No. 2143.] Revs. H. Ballou, 2d, and T. Whittemore, editors and proprietors. Published once in two months. *Boston.* 8vo. E. [See No. 2183.] 2166

1833-7. The Southern Evangelist. A Monthly folio, published at Montgomery, Ala. Rev. L. F. W. Andrews, editor. Removed in 1834 to Charleston, S. C.; edited by Revs. Theophilus Fisk, Philo Brownson, Jerome Harris, John Gregory. Became a semi-monthly, subsequently a weekly, 4to. 2167

1834. The Child's Universalist Gazette, and Monthly Visitor. Edited by Rev. Daniel D. Smith. *Boston.* 16mo, pp. 32. 2168

1834-5. Christian Telescope. Folio, semi-monthly. Rev. N. C. Fletcher, editor. *Thomastown*, Me. [Merged in No. 2108 in 1835.] 2169

1834-7. Herald of Truth. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev. E. D. Kennicott, editor. [Vol. iii. was issued weekly. Revs. Jacob Chase, Jr., and George W. Montgomery, editors. *Geneva*, N. Y. Vol. iv. was published in *Rochester* and *Auburn*. Rev. George Sanderson, Jacob Chase, and Charles Hammond, editors. At the close of Vol. iv. united with No. 2130.] 2170

1834-7. Star in the East and New Hampshire Universalist. Folio, weekly. *Concord*, N. H. Rev. John G. Adams, editor. [In August, 1837, merged in No. 2134.] 2171

1835-7. Gospel Sun and News Register. Folio, weekly. Edited by Revs. Otis A. Skinner and Sylvanus Cobb. *Haverhill*, Mass. [In 1836, Rev. Matthew H. Smith, editor.] 2172

1835-47. The Universalist Union. Super-royal 4to, weekly. Printed at *New York*. Revs. Thomas J. Sawyer, Isaac D. Williamson, Rufus O. Williams, Abel C. Thomas, and Mr. Philo Price, editors. [A union of Nos. 2109, 2153. 4to form ceased with Vol. v., being succeeded by No. 2153. From 1838 to 1847, 8vo.] 2173

1835-86. Gospel Banner and Universalists' Family Monitor. Folio, weekly. *Augusta*, Me. Rev. William A. Drew, editor until Oct. 1854. [In 1836 No. 2162 was united with the Banner, and the name became, *Gospel Banner and Christian Pilot.* In 1842, *Gospel Banner and Family Visitant.* In 1845, *Gospel Banner.* 1854-60, Rev. J. W. Hanson, editor; 1860 and 1861, Rev. H. C. Leonard; 1862 and 1863, Rev. R. A. Ballou; 1863-83, Rev. G. W. Quinby, D.D.; 1883-6, Rev. I. J. Mead.] 217

1836-40. The Glad Tidings and Ohio Universalist; semi-monthly, 4to. *Pittsburgh*, Pa., and *Columbus*, Ohio. [Vol. i., Revs. S. A. Davis, and M. A. Chappell, editors. Vol. iii., name changed to *The Glad Tidings and Ladies' Universalist Magazine*, and was published weekly. Place of publication, *Akron*, Ohio. Revs. S. A. Davis and Jacob Whitney, editors, Vol. iv. Rev. N. Doolittle, associate editor. At close of Vol. iv. was merged in No. 2131.] 2175

1836-46. The Philomath Encyclopedia. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. Jonathan Kidwell, editor. *Philomath*, Ind. [Superseded by No. 2226, Nov. 1846.] 2176

1836-86. Universalist Register and Almanac: Containing statistics of the Denomination of Universalists, etc. [1836-8, edited and published by G. Whiston, and G. Sanderson: *Utica, Geneva, Rochester;* 1839-64, edited by Rev. A. B. Grosh: *Utica, Philadelphia, Boston.;* 1865-70, edited by Rev. Giles Bailey: *Boston;* 1871-8, Rev. J. O. Skinner, editor: *Boston;* 1879-82, edited by Mrs. C. L. F. Skinner: *Boston;* 1883-4, edited by Rev. H. W. Rugg: *Boston;* 1885-6, edited by Rev. Geo. Hill: *Boston.* 12mo, v. p.] E., U. 2177

1837. Evangelical Preacher. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. George Sanderson, editor. *Rochester*, N. Y. 2178

1837. Louisville Berean and Biblical Interpreter. Monthly, 8vo. Rev. N. Wadsworth, editor. *Louisville*, Ky. 2179

1837-9. The Restorationist, a Monthly Magazine. Rev. Paul Dean, resident editor; Revs. Charles Hudson, William Morse, Adin Ballou, Edwin M. Stone, corresponding editors. *Boston.* 8vo, pp. 16. 2180

1838. Gospel Witness and Old Colony Reporter. Folio, weekly. Rev. Albert A. Folsom, editor. *Hingham*, Mass. 2181

1838-9. The Evangelical Universalist. Published at Macon, Ga. Edited by Rev. L. F. W. Andrews, with Revs. Philo Brownson, S. J. McMorris, H. F. Stearns, and Allen Fuller, assistants. Weekly, folio. 2182

1838-40. The Expositor and Universalist Review. Vols. ii., iii., and iv., New Series. Edited by Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d. Published once in two months. *Boston.* 8vo. [See No. 2166.] E. 2183

1839-40. The Southern Universalist. Super-royal folio, weekly; published at Macon, Ga. Rev. P. Brownson, editor and proprietor; Rev. A. Case, Charleston, S. C., corresponding editor. 2184

1839-41. The Universalist Preacher and Evangelical Repository. Monthly, 8vo. Rev. G. C. McCune, editor. *Dayton*, Ohio. [Merged in No. 2131, in 1841.] 2185

1839-42. Christian Palladium and Ladies' Amulet. Semi-monthly, 4to. Edited by Revs. C. C. Burr, Z. Thompson, G. W. Quinby, T. J. Tenney, and L. P. Rand. *Portland*, Me. [See No. 2201.] 2186

1839-43. The Universalist. Published simultaneously at *Middletown* and *Hartford*, Conn. Weekly, 4to. [Rev. Linus S. Everett, editor of Vols. i. and ii.; Vol iii., Rev. John Moore. United, Jan. 1844, with No. 2134.] 2187

1839-50. The Sabbath School Contributor. Once in two weeks, 4to, pp 8. [Vol. i. published in *Lynn*, by Rev E. N. Harris, editor and proprietor. Vol. ii., *Boston.* Rev. O. A. Skinner, editor. Vol. iii, Rev. G. G. Strickland was associated with Mr. Skinner, and the name was changed to *The Light of Zion and Sabbath School Contributor.* Vol iii. to near the close of Vol. xi., Rev. J. G. Adams, editor. With the fifth vol. the name was changed to *The Gospel Teacher and Sabbath School Contributor.* With the sixth vol. the form was changed to 8vo, pp 16. In the ninth vol. 8 pp. were added. With Vol. xi., the subscription list of No. 2212 was purchased, and the name changed to the *Gospel* 2188

Teacher and Universalist Miscellany. Rev. T. H. Miller, publisher and editor. Publication was suspended at the close of Vol. xi.]

1839–62. THE CHRISTIAN FREEMAN AND FAMILY VISITOR. Weekly, folio. Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, editor and proprietor. [Vols. i. and ii. published in *Waltham,* all subsequent vols. in *Boston.* In 1862 united with No. 2134.] 2189

1840–1. THE GOSPEL MESSENGER. Weekly, folio. Rev. Zephaniah Baker, editor. *Providence,* R. I. [Merged in No. 2189, in August, 1841.] 2190

1840–2. STAR OF BETHLEHEM. Folio, weekly. Revs. Abel C Thomas, Thomas B. Thayer, and George W. Gage, editors. *Lowell,* Mass., and *Manchester,* N. H. [United with No. 2134 in 1842.] 2191

1840–3. THE NAZARENE. Weekly, folio. *Philadelphia.* [Vols. iii. and iv. in 4to. Rev. Savillion W. Fuller, and after his death, Revs. Asher Moore, Theodore D. Cook, John Perry, and John H. Gihon, editors. In Jan. 1844, united with No. 2134.] 2192

1840–57. THE ROSE OF SHARON: A Religious Souvenir. [An Annual. Eighteen vols. were issued. Vols. i.–x. edited by Miss Sarah C Edgarton. Vols. xi.–xviii., by Mrs. Caroline M. Sawyer.] *Boston.* 12mo. T. 2193

1841. THE UNIVERSALIST FAMILY VISITOR: devoted to the inculcation and defence of the doctrine of Universal Salvation. Edited by Rev. J. F. Witherell. Monthly. *Contoocookville,* N. H. 12mo, v. p. E., U. 2194

1841–3. THE EASTERN ROSE BUD. Semi-monthly. S. H. Colesworthy, editor. Square 16mo. *Portland,* Me. 2195

1841–9. THE CHRISTIAN TEACHER. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. Erasmus Manford, editor. *Lafayette,* Ind. [*Western Universalist and Christian Teacher,* 1844–9, 4to. Semi-monthly. Continued in 1849 as No. 2240.] 2196

1842. BALM OF GILEAD. Monthly, 8vo. Rev. J. F. Witherell, editor. *Concord,* N. H. [See No. 2200.] 2197

1842–3. THE MESSENGER OF GLAD TIDINGS. Folio, weekly. Rev. S. J. McMorris, editor and proprietor. *Wetumpka,* Ala. 2198

1842–5. THE CHRISTIAN WARRIOR. A weekly folio, published at *Richmond,* Va. Rev. D. D Smith, editor, assisted by Messrs. R. T Wicker, and J. E. Couty. Vol. iii, edited by Mr. Wicker and Rev. Jacob Frieze. 2199

1842–6. THE BALM OF GILEAD AND PRACTICAL UNIVERSALIST. Weekly, 4to Revs. J. F. Witherell, L. C. Browne, G. W. Gage, M. Ballou, C. Woodhouse, editors. *Concord,* N. H [See No. 2197. In 1846 transferred to *Lowell,* Mass., and became No. 2221.] 2200

1842–6. STAR OF SALVATION. Folio, weekly. Revs. T. B. Thayer, Abel C. Thomas, A. A. Miner, and G. W. Gage, editors [No. 2186 added in 1842, and name became *Star and Palladium,* afterwards *Star of Bethlehem.* In 1846 became No. 2221.] 2201

1842–6. THE WESTERN LUMINARY. Weekly 4to. Revs. James M. Cook, Charles Hammond, and Jacob Whitney, editors. *Rochester,* N. Y. [With Vol ii. was transferred to Rev Charles Hammond, proprietor and editor: merged in No. 2222 in 1846.] 2202

1842–7. THE BETTER COVENANT. Weekly, 4to. Revs. Seth Barnes and William Rounseville, editors. *Rockford,* Ill. [Before the first volume closed the office of publication was moved to *St. Charles,* and shortly after to *Chicago.* In 1845 Mr. Rounseville became sole editor: 1846, Rev. Samuel P. Skinner, editor. In 1847 the paper was united with No. 2131.] 2203

1843. THE EVANGELIST. Folio, weekly. Revs. John M. Austin and Linus S. Everett, editors. *Salem.* 2204

1843. THE PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN. Folio, semi-monthly. Rev. Adin Ballou, editor. *Hopedale,* Mass. 2205

1843. THE UNIVERSALIST CABINET. Weekly, 8vo. Rev. John Prince, editor. *Salem,* Mass. 2206

1843–4. THE BANNER OF LOVE. Folio, weekly. Revs. A. Paige and R. S. Pope, editors. *Barnstable,* Mass. [Merged in No. 2201 in 1844.] 2207

1843–52. THE PRIMITIVE EXPOUNDER. Revs. James Billings and R. Thornton, editors of Vols. i.–iii. [Vol. i., at *Ann Arbor,* Mich.; Vol. ii., at 2208

Alphadelphia, Mich.; Vol. iii., *Jackson*, Mich.; Vol. iv., *Ann Arbor*. Vol. iv. edited by Rev. J. H. Sanford] Semi-monthly, 8vo. In 1852 united with No. 2131.]

1844. The New Hampshire Universalist Register, containing Denominational Statistics for the year 1844. No. I Edited by Rev. J. F. Witherell. *Concord*. 16mo, pp. 63. E. 2209

1844. The Rationalist. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. Isaac Kelso, editor. *Terre Haute*, Ind. 2210

1844. Youth's Cabinet. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. J. F. Witherell, editor. *Concord*, N. H. 2211

1844-9. The Universalist Miscellany: a Monthly Magazine, devoted to Biblical literature, explanations of Scripture, doctrinal and moral discussions, and the promotion of practical piety. *Boston*. 12mo, 6 vols., v. p. [Vols. i. iii., edited by Revs. O. A. Skinner and E. H. Chapin; Vols. iv.-vi., by Revs. O. A. Skinner and Sebastian Streeter. At the close of the sixth volume it was united with *The Gospel Teacher and Sabbath School Contributor*, No. 2188.] E. 2212

1844-86. The Universalist Quarterly and General Review. [From 1844 to 1858, edited by Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D.; 1858-64, Rev. George H. Emerson, D.D., editor. A new series commenced in 1864, Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, D.D., editor, who so continued till his death, in 1886. Rev. Richard Eddy, D.D., became editor, Oct., 1886.] *Boston*. 8vo, pp. 128. E. 2213

1845. Religious Instructor. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. T. J. Tenney, editor. *Norway*, Me. 2214

1845. Western Magazine. 8vo. Rev. William Rounseville, editor. *Chicago*, Ill 2215

1845-6. The Gospel Messenger. Folio, weekly; published at *Wetumpka*, Ala. Rev. S. J. McMorris, editor and proprietor; Rev. I. D. Williamson, associate editor. [In 1846 merged in No. 2131.] 2216

1845-6. Ohio Universalist and Literary Companion. Weekly, folio. Rev. George H. Emerson, editor. *Cleveland*, Ohio. [In 1846 was merged in No. 2222.] 2217

1846. The Faithful Witness. Semi-monthly, folio. Rev. L. C. Marvin, editor. *Boonville*, Mo. 2218

1846. The Missionary. Monthly, 8vo. Rev. Erasmus Manford, editor. *Terre Haute*, Ind. 2219

1846. The Philanthropist. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev. Charles E. Hewes, editor. *Pittsfield*, Mass. 2220

1846-7. Gospel Fountain. Weekly, folio. Rev. William Bell, editor. *Lowell*, Mass. Successor to Nos. 2200, 2201. In 1847 was united to No. 2189. 2221

1846-8. Western Evangelist. Folio, weekly. Edited by Rev. Linus S. Everett. *Buffalo*, N. Y. [Absorbed Nos. 2202, 2217. In 1847 was united with No. 2131] 2222

1846-8. The Gospel Missionary. Folio, weekly. Edited by Rev. J. S. Palmer. *Montrose*, Pa. [In 1848 merged in No. 2153.] 2223

1846-8. The Herald of Truth. Monthly. Rev. B. F. Foster, editor. *Terre Haute*, Ind. [In 1848 merged in No. 2196.] 2224

1846-9. The Sabbath School Annual. Edited by Mrs M. H. Adams. *Boston*. [4 vols. Vol. i., 18mo, all others 12mo, v. p.] 2225

1846-50. Independent Universalist. Weekly, folio. Rev. Jonathan Kidwell, editor. *Terre Haute*, Ind. Continuation of No. 2176. In 1848 Rev. E. M. Knapp was associated with Mr. Kidwell. Mr. Knapp was sole editor of Vol. iv. till near its close, when Rev. John Allen was his associate.] 2226

1846-60. The Youth's Friend. Weekly, 8vo. Rev. Abel C. Thomas, editor. *Cincinnati*, Ohio. [1847-50, Rev. Henry Jewell, editor; 1851-60, "edited by a Lady." 2227

1847. The Ambassador. Weekly, 4to. Rev. L. S. Everett, editor. *Buffalo*, N. Y. 2228

1847. Child's Gospel Guide. Monthly, 12mo Rev John G. Adams, editor. *Boston*. Mass. 2229

1847. The Denominational Universalist. Folio, weekly. Rev. Alfred Peck, editor. *Troy*, N. Y. 2230

1847. Religious Instructor. Monthly, 12mo. Rev. George K. Shaw, editor. *Paris*, Me. 2231

1847–86. The Religious Investigator — The Universalist Herald. The *Investigator* began a small monthly, edited and published by Rev. C. F. R. Shehane, at *Wetumpka*, Ala. In 1849 Rev. John C. Burruss was associated with Mr. Shehane, and the paper was removed to Notasulga, Ala., and called *The Universalist Herald*. In 1850 Mr. Burruss became sole proprietor, enlarged the paper to a folio, and published it semi-monthly. Later in the year it became a weekly, Revs. S. J. McMorris, C. F. R. Shehane, D. B. Clayton, M. Gardner, and A. Gage, assistant editors. In 1859 the office of publication was moved to *Montgomery*, Ala. The publication was suspended from the fall of 1861 to the spring of 1867, when the paper was re-issued as a semi-monthly at *Notasulga*, Ala. It is still edited by Rev. J. C. Burruss, Rev. D. B. Clayton, corresponding editor. 2232

1848. Universalist Annual. No. 1. Containing an Almanac and the statistics of the Denomination for 1848. Edited by Erasmus Manford. *Indianapolis*. 16mo, pp. 48. E. 2233

1848–50. The Ambassador. 8vo, weekly Revs. S. C. Bulkeley, O. A. Skinner, and W. S. Balch, editors. *New York*, N. Y. [In 1851 merged in No. 2250.] 2234

1848–50. Christian Sentinel. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev. Jacob Whitney, editor. *Rochester*, N. Y. 2235

1848–83. The New Covenant. Folio, weekly. Revs. William E. Manley and J. M. Day, editors. *Chicago*, Ill. [1849–55, Revs. J. M. Day and S. P. Skinner, editors; 1855–6, Rev. L. B. Mason; 1857, Revs. O. A. Skinner and L. B. Mason; 1858–69, Rev. D. P. Livermore; 1869–84, Rev. J. W. Hanson, D.D. In the fall of 1880 the *Star in the West* (No. 2131) was purchased, and the name changed to *Star and Covenant*. In Dec., 1883, the paper was sold to the Universalist Publishing House, and became No. 2275.]. 2236

1849. The Angelic Messenger. Semi-monthly, folio. Revs. J. M. Westfall and G. P. Smith, editors. *Burlington*, Ia. 2237

1849. The Universalist Advocate Semi-monthly, 12mo. Edited by Daniel Wolfe. *Centreburg*, Ohio. 2238

1849–50. Religious Instructor. Monthly. Revs. Russell Streeter and George K. Shaw, editors. *Portland*, Me. [In 1850 was merged in No. 2174.] 2239

1849–50. Western Olive Branch. Folio, weekly. Edited by Revs. Erasmus Manford and Henry Jewell. *Cincinnati*, Ohio. [Successor to No. 2196. In 1850 was merged in No. 2131.] 2240

1849–51. The Gospel Messenger, or Universalist Advocate. Monthly, 4to Rev. J. R. Lavelle, editor. *London*, Canada West. 2241

1849–51. The Pennsylvania Universalist. Semi-monthly, folio. Edited by Rev. Samuel Ashton. *Philadelphia*, Pa. [In 1851 became *The Family Journal and Pennsylvania Universalist*. List transferred to No. 2250 in Oct., 1851.] 2242

1850. The Christian Guardian. Folio, weekly. Rev. Jacob Whitney, editor. *Rochester*, N. Y. 2243

1850–1. Youth's Monthly Magazine. Rev. John G. Adams, editor. *Boston*. 12mo. 2244

1850–65. The Gospel Herald. Semi-monthly, 4to. Revs. B. F. Foster and Thomas Abbott, editors. *Madison*, Ind. [In 1851 Revs. I. D. Williamson, D.D., and B. F. Foster became editors. In 1855 became a weekly publication. In 1855 it absorbed No. 2247, and became *The Herald and Era*. A semi-monthly edition, 8vo, was published in 1859.] 2245

1851. Evangelical Christian. Edited by Rev. Isaac George. Folio, weekly. *Jamestown*, N. Y. [Began in March; in June merged in No. 2250.] 2246

1851–5. The Golden Era. Monthly, 4to. Rev E. Manford, editor. *St. Louis*, Mo. [In 1853 changed to folio. In 1855 united with No. 2245.] 2247

1851-8. THE LILY OF THE VALLEY. [An annual. Eight vols. were issued. Vols. i. and ii., edited by Mrs. Mary A. Livermore; Vols. iii. to viii., Miss Elizabeth Doten.] *Boston.* 12mo. 2248

1851-60. THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN. Monthly, 16mo. G. L. Demarest, editor. *New York.* In 1856 it was edited by Rev. H. R. Nye; 1857-60, by Messrs. Nye and Demarest; in 1860 was merged in No. 2251.] 2249

1851-78. CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR. Folio, weekly. Edited by Rev. John M. Austin. *Auburn*, N. Y. [Successor to Nos. 2130, 2153, 2234, 2235, 2243. Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D.D., editor, 1863-6. Impersonal in 1866; Rev. G. H. Emerson, D.D., 1867-72; Revs. E. H. Chapin D.D., and I. M. Atwood, 1873; impersonal, 1874-5; Rev. Charles F. Lee, 1876-8. Published in *New York*, 1863-75; *Utica*, N. Y., 1876-8. Name changed to *Christian Leader* in 1867; form to 4to in 1873. United with No. 2262 in 1879.] 2250

1851-86. THE MYRTLE. A Sunday School Paper. [Rev. John G. Adams, editor from 1851 to 1875; Mrs. P. A. Hanaford, associate editor from 1866 to 1869; Mrs. H. A. Bingham, 1869 to 1875; Mrs. E. M. Bruce, editor from 1875 to 1886. The paper was a 4to, published once in two weeks, to 1871; since then a weekly, 8vo.] 2251

1853. THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSALIST. Commenced in Dec., 1853, at *Nashville*, Tenn., by Rev. James C. Patterson, M.D. [In Feb., 1854, its list of subscribers was transferred to *The Universalist Herald*, No. 2232.] 2252

1853. THE MISSIONARY. Monthly, 4to. *New York*, N. Y. 2253

1853. THE OLIVE LEAF. Folio, weekly. Edited by Rev. R. O. Williams. *Exeter*, N. H. 2254

1854-5. THE ROSE BUD, a Love Gift for Young Hearts. [An Annual, edited by Mrs. Caroline M. Soule.] *Boston.* 12mo. 2255

1856-9. THE SEMI-MONTHLY PROGRESSIONIST. Published at *Newman*, Ga. Folio. Edited by Rev. C. F. R. Shehane till his death, in May, 1857; then, by Rev. J. M. H. Smith. [Subscription transferred in 1859 to No. 2232.] 2256

1857. THE GOLDEN AGE. Monthly. Rev. Thomas Abbott, editor. *Indianapolis*, Ind., and *St. Louis*, Mo. 2257

1857-8. STAR OF THE PACIFIC. Semi-monthly, 8vo. Rev. A. C. Edmunds, editor. *Marysville*, Cal. [In 1858 became semi-monthly. 4to. *Sacramento.*] 2258

1857-86. MANFORD'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE. 8vo. Rev. E. Manford, editor. *St. Louis*, Mo. [1864, removed to *Chicago*, Ill., Mrs. H. B. Manford, editor, 1884-1886. Present editors, T. H. Tabor and Rev. M. W. Tabor.] 2259

1860-62. THE CHRISTIAN TEACHER. A Monthly Journal, devoted to the Sabbath School Cause. Vol. i., July, 1860-June, 1861. 12mo, pp. 292; Vol. ii., July, 1861-June, 1862. [See No. 1377.] 12mo, pp. 292. *Boston.* [Each No. edited by a member of the Universalist Sabbath School Union.] E. 2260

1861. GOSPEL TIDINGS. Monthly, 4to. Rev. V. P. Wilson, editor. *Pittsburg*, Pa. 2261

1864-78. THE UNIVERSALIST. Weekly, folio. *Boston.* [Continuation of No. 2134. Rev. G. H. Emerson, editor from 1864 to January, 1867; Rev. Giles Bailey, editor from January to April, 1867; Rev. I. M. Atwood, editor from April, 1867, to April, 1872; Rev. G. H. Emerson, editor to Dec., 1878. The Universalist Publishing House, publisher. Continued as No. 2274.] T. 2262

1865. THE OLD AND THE NEW. Monthly, 8vo. Revs. H. R. Walworth and A. J. Canfield, editors and proprietors. *Williamsburg*, N. Y. 2263

1868-80. THE GUIDING STAR. Semi-monthly, folio. Mrs. Caroline E. Soule, editor, *New York*, N. Y. Publication office moved in 1871 to *Cincinnati*, Ohio. 2264

1869. GOSPEL PULPIT. Quarterly, 8vo. Edited by Rev. J. P. Chaplin. *Chicago*, Ill. 2265

1870-86. THE SUNDAY SCHOOL HELPER. A Monthly Magazine, devoted to the Interests of Universalist Sunday School Teaching. Vols. i.-iii. published in *Chicago*, edited by Samuel A. Briggs; Vol. iv., *New York*, 2266

edited by Rev. George W. Perry; Vols. v.–viii., *Boston*, Rev. G. L. Demarest, editor; Vols ix., x., *Boston*, Rev. J. G. Adams, D.D., editor; Vols. xi. to xvii., *Boston*, Rev. G. L. Demarest, D.D., editor.] 8vo, pp. 32. E.

1871. The Messenger of the Covenant. Published monthly, at *Atlanta*, Ga. Rev. L. F. W. Andrews, editor. 2267

1871–2. The Christian Crucible. Semi-monthly, 4to. Rev. L. F. W. Andrews, editor. *Macon*, Ga. [In 1872 was merged in No. 2131.] 2268

1872–6. The Harbinger. Semi-monthly, folio. Rev. Thomas Abbott, editor. *St. Louis*, Mo. [In 1873 became a monthly, 8vo; 1875, office of publication, *Paducha*, Ky.] 2269

1873. The Universalist Missionary Almanac for 1873. . . . *Cincinnati*. 12mo. n. p. E. 2270

1874. The Key to Truth. Folio, weekly. Edited by Ballard and Stoner. *Logansport*, Ind. 2271

1878–83. The New Religion. Folio, weekly. Rev. J. A. Seitz, editor. *Norway*, Me. 2272

1879–84. The Atlanta Universalist. 4to, weekly. Rev. W. C. Bowman, editor. *Atlanta*, Ga [Changed to semi-monthly in 1882, Rev. D. B. Clayton, editor. In 1884 merged in No. 2232.] 2273

1879–86. The Christian Leader. Edited by Rev. G. H. Emerson, D.D. 4to, weekly. *Boston*. [Continuation of No 2262.] 2274

1884–6. The Universalist. 4to, weekly. Rev. J. S. Cantwell, D.D., editor. *Chicago*, Ill. [Continuation of No. 2236.] 2275

1884–6. Our Mission. Monthly, folio. Rev. C. H. Rogers, editor. *Seneca*, Kan. 2276

1885–6. The Convention Reporter. Devoted to the interests of the Universalist Church of Indiana. Folio, quarterly. Rev. R. N. John, editor. *Dublin*, Ind. 2277

1885–6. Our Church. Semi-monthly, folio. Rev. L. D. Boynton, editor. *Minneapolis* and *St. Paul*, Minn. 2278

INDEX TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A Brief Reply, 552.
A Dialogue, 553.
A Disquisition, 512.
A Doctrinal Controversy, 145.
A Few Chronicles, 1872.
A Friendly Epistle, 773.
A Humble Attempt, 234.
A Letter by L——d, 375.
A Letter: Reply to Rev. N. Adams, 1552.
A Letter to Andover, 219.
A Letter to Rev. W. E. Stone, 554.
A Religious Tract, 235.
A Report of Discussion, 1087.
A Short Sermon, 918.
A Specimen, 450.
A Treatise, 555.
A Vindication, 718.
Abell, T. P., 981.
Abbott, A. R., 1424.
Abbott-Boyden, 1185.
Abbott, T., 2000.
Ackley, A., 982.
Act of Incorporation, First Society, Boston, 511.
Adams-Adams, 1667.
Adams-Ball, 1649.
Adams-Brown, 1779.
Adams-Chapin, 1241.
Adams-Cobb, 1584.
Adams, A. N., 1582.
Adams, C. C., 1910.
Adams, H., 39.
Adams, H. W., 1121.
Adams, J., 881.
Adams, J. G., 930, 947, 983, 984, 1373, 1425, 1519, 1583, 1647, 1648, 1712, 1743, 1779, 1899, 1911, 1971, 2019, 2039.
Adams, M. H., 1667.
Adams, N., 1553, 1554, 1650.
Adelos, 52.
Alexander, A., 1122, 1374.
Allen, J. H., 1307.
Allen, T., 26.
Allen, W., 513.
Ambassador, The, Buffalo, 2228.
Ambassador, The, New York, 2234.
American Philanthropist, The, 1079.
An Address, Baptists, 17.
An Address, Bereans, 155.
Anderson, R. N., 409.
Andrews-Andrews, 1780.
Andrews, E., 106, 112.
Andrews, L. F. W., 633, 634, 882, 985, 1780.
Andrews, W., 1086.
Angelic Messenger, 2237.
Annan, R., 59.
Anti-Millerite Expositor, 1151.
Apostolic Doctrine of a Future Life, 1912.
Arnold, A. S., 1744, 1802, 1857, 1972.
Articles of Faith: Philadelphia, 65; Charlestown, 171; Chester, 801.
Articles of Religion of Universalist Church, Chelsea, 1764.
Atkinson-King, 719.
Atlanta Universalist, 2273.
Atwood, I. M., 1803, 1888, 2040, 2041.
Auburn, Me., Semi-Centennial Exercises of the Universalist Church in, 1979.
Austin, J. J., 1268, 1450.
Austin, J. M., 848, 1088, 1157, 1288, 1308, 1332, 1333, 1620.
Author's Reasons, 477.

Babbitt-Ballou, 275.
Babbitt, J., 376.
Bachelor, O., 451, 556, 603.
Backus, I., 60
Backus, J. S., 1309.
Bacon-Bacon, 1527, 1528.
Bacon, E. A., 1049.
Bacon, H., 810, 849, 850, 919, 948, 986, 987, 1089, 1123, 1158, 1159, 1242, 1269, 1310, 1336, 1350, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1451, 1452, 1527, 1528.
Bacon, L., 720.
Bacon, O. W., 1222, 1270.
Bailey, P. J., 1186, 1337.
Baker, D., 774.
Baker, S., 188, 196.
Baker, Z., 1050, 1160.
Balch, A. L., 988.
Balch, W. S., 604, 811, 949, 1187, 1311, 1822, 1840, 1913.
Baldwin, J. 1704.
Baldwin, W., 1483.
Balfour-Ballou, 559.
Balfour-Skinner, 1453, 1454.
Balfour, W., 410, 430, 455, 514, 515, 557, 558, 559, 635, 636, 637, 721, 775, 851, 1422, 1874.
Balfour's Enquiry, 852.

Balfour's Opinion, 480.
Ballou-Ballou, 674, 1391, 1426, 1456.
Ballou-Chambré-Sawyer, 1823.
Ballou-Kneeland, 349.
Ballou-Smith, 776.
Ballou-Turner, 239, 324.
Ballou-Whittemore, 1457.
Ballou, A., 299, 377, 605, 674, 776, 853, 1124, 1334, 1335, 1426, 1621, 1727, 1781.
Ballou, B , 674.
Ballou, D., 1686.
Ballou, E., 920, 1542.
Ballou, H., 116, 123, 130, 131, 156, 157, 165, 172, 173, 180, 189, 197, 207, 208, 209, 220, 221, 236, 237, 238, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 322, 323, 324, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 411, 452, 453, 481, 482, 516, 517, 518, 519, 559, 560, 561, 638, 639, 640, 675, 676, 722, 777, 812, 854, 959, 989, 1243, 1312, 1390, 1391, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1783.
Ballou, H , 2d, 350, 454, 520, 562, 606, 723, 883, 921, 922, 951, 990, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1313, 1458, 1495, 1713, 1823, 1918.
Ballou, H. F., 884.
Ballou, M., 923, 1358, 1459.
Ballou, M. M., 1391, 1456.
Ballou, S., 45, 275.
Balm of Gilead, 2197.
Balm of Gilead and Practical Universalist, 2200.
Banner of Love, 2207.
Barnes-Bisbee, 1745.
Barnes, E., 641.
Barns-Buck-Bates, 1507.
Barns, L., 190, 813.
Barns, T., 174.
Barns, W., 991.
Barron, T., 1223.
Barrows, S. J., 2053.
Barrows, W., 1392.
Barry, A. C., 992, 993, 1051, 1221, 1914, 2020.
Barry, J. S., 1687.
Bartholomew, J. G., 1529, 1668, 1669, 1675.
Bartlett, R , 325, 351, 378, 456, 607.
Bartlett, S C., 1508, 1714, 1873.
Bates, B., 563.
Bates, G., 1507.
Bath-Kol, 27.
Bayley, S., 379.
Beecher-Farrar-Stanley, 1916.
Beecher, E., 1427, 1622, 1915.
Beecher, L , 608
Beecher, T K., 1782.
Belcher, J., 1496.
Bell, W., 642.
Bellamy, J., 307.
Berean, The, 2098.
Bernard, D., 1428.
Better Covenant, The, 2203.
Bisbe, J., Jr., 380, 381, 431, 457, 521.
Bisbee, H., 1745.
Black River Association, 433.
Blain, J., 1804.
Blanchard, H., 2021.
Blanchard, J. P., 1555.
Bliss-Marston, 1917.
Bliss, F. S., 1497, 1746.
Borden, T., 1509.
Borland, J., 1274.
Bosserman, A., 1429, 1498, 1530.
Boston Association, Facts Concerning, 1354.
Boston Association, Missionary Work, 1354.
Boston Young Men's Institute, 885.
Botschafter, Der, 2137.
Bowles, B. F., Installation, 1722.
Boyden, J., 1125, 1161, 1185, 1188, 1275.
Bradstreet, S. L., 412.
Braman-Whittemore-A. W. M'Clure, 724.
Braman, M. P., 765.
Brattleboro, Vt., Form of Church Government in, 2027.
Breckenridge-Everett, 877.
Brewster, H. B., 725.
Briggs, F. J., 814.
Brimblecome, S , 564.
Brittain, S. B., 1189, 1244.
Brontë, C., E. & A., 1276.
Brooke-Strickland, Kingsley, 1623.
Brooks-Brooks, 2022.
Brooks, E. G , 1676, 1783, 1805, 1806, 1824, 1858, 1859, 1874, 1900, 1918, 1919, 1973.
Brooks, E. S., 2022, 2088.
Brooks, J., 326, 352, 382, 413, 414, 458, 1531.
Brown-Streeter, 198.
Brown, E., 994, 1430.
Brown, H., 1747.
Brown, I., 995.
Brown, J. S , 1394.
Brown, O., 1779.
Brown, T., 459.
Browne, L. C., 1052, 1090, 1245, 1277.
Brownson, O. A., 1532.
Buchtel College, 1889.
Buck, L., 1507.
Buckminster-Walton-Ballou, 175.
Bugbee, J. H., 460.
Bulfinch, S. G., 903.
Bulkeley-Hutchins, 1053.
Bullock, M. G., 1974.
Bunker, B. B., 1091, 1224.
Burchard-Eastman, 855.
Burge, C , 353.
Burnap, U. C., 778.
Burnham, J. E., 1092.
Burr, C. C., 856, 924, 996, 1054, 1162.
Burr, W. H., 1854.
Burrington, L. M., 1677.
Burruss, J. C., 1190, 1431, 1556, 1594, 1607, 2004.
Burt, J., 199.
Burton, W., 677.

Calvinism, Full length, 449.
Campbell-Skinner, 997.
Campbell, A., 1278, 1624.
Campbell, G., 1920.
Campbell, J. H., 1338.
Candid Examiner, 2120.
Canfield, R., 483.
Capen, E. H., 1807, 1825.
Carlton-Moore, 1784.

Carpenter-Hughes, 1875.
Carrique, R., 222, 240, 241, 262, 308.
Case, E., 522.
Case, L. J. B., 1499.
Cass, J., 1921.
Catalogue of recommended books, 925.
Catlin, H., 565.
Centenary Voices, 2089.
Central New York Sabbath School Association, 1715.
Chadwick, J., 242.
Chadwick, J. W., 1922.
Chambers, J., 938.
Chambré, A. St. J., 1557, 1688, 1705, 1728, 1785, 1823, 1826, 1841, 1890.
Chapin-King, 1626.
Chapman-Shehane, 1127.
Chapin, E. H., 926, 999, 1055, 1056, 1093, 1126, 1163, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1246, 1279, 1280, 1339, 1395, 1432, 1433, 1460, 1461, 1585, 1586, 1625, 1626, 1851, 1891, 2023, 2024, 2031, 2043.
Chapin, H. B., 886.
Charter and By Laws: Soc. in N. Prov., 523.
Chase, J., Jr., 643, 779, 1057.
Chauncy, C., 20, 28, 40, 41.
Chautauqua Association, 1730.
Cheever, G. B., 1375.
Chesebrough, A. S., 1998.
Child's Gospel Guide, 2229.
Child's Universalist Gazette, 2168.
Christian Ambassador, 2250.
Christian Crucible, 2268.
Christian Freeman, 2189.
Christian Guardian, 2243.
Christian Helper, 1548.
Christian Hymns, Bulfinch St., 383.
Christian Intelligencer, 2108.
Christian Leader, 2274.
Christian Messenger, New York, 2153.
Christian Messenger, Philadelphia, 2103.
Christian Ministry, The, 1870.
Christian Palladium, 2186.
Christian Pilot, 2162.
Christian Preacher, 2148.
Christian Repository, 2107.
Christian Sentinel, 2235.
Christian Teacher, Boston, 2260
Christian Teacher, Indiana, 2196.
Christian Telescope, Maine, 2169.
Christian Telescope, Providence, 2117.
Christian Universalist, 2252.
Christian Visitant, Maine, 2121.
Christian Visitant, New York, 2159.
Christian Warrior, 2199.
Christian's Bower, 2156.
Church, J. H., 524.
Cilley, D. P., 857.
Clapp, T., 1462, 1533, 1587.
Clark-Clark, 1396.
Clark, G. H., 1281, 1396.
Clark, U., 1194, 1314, 1396.
Clark, W. S., 858, 1064.
Clarke, J., 21.
Clarke, J. F., 1651, 1652, 1716.
Clarke, R., 3.
Clavton-Grant, 1627.
Cleveland, J., 5, 8, 14.
Clowes, T., 1128.
Cobb-Cobb, 1729.
Cobb, E. H., 1397.
Cobb, S., 432, 461, 484, 525, 566, 644, 678, 679, 680, 681, 726, 727, 1225, 1226, 1282, 1463, 1584, 1630, 1689, 1690, 1717, 1729.
Colfelt, L. M., 1923.
Collins, G., 1340.
Comet, The, 2154.
Comfort, S., 1434.
Cone, O., 1748.
Confession of Faith, Church in Melrose, Mass., 1549.
Confession of Faith, Fifth Church, Boston, 1152.
Congdon, H. W., 2052.
Conner, C. C., 2059.
Constable, H., 1808.
Constitution, Church in Gloucester, Mass., 1038.
Constitution of Church in Richmond, Va., 953.
Constitution of Church in Salem, Mass., 975.
Constitution of Church of the Messiah, Philadelphia, 1398.
Constitution of First Church in New Haven, Ct., 1862.
Constitution of First Church and Society, Cincinnati, 1558.
Constitution of Fourth Church in New York, 1341.
Constitution of Second Church in New York, 1058.
Constitution of Restorationist Society in Cincinnati, 956.
Constitution of Society in Richmond, Va., 928.
Constitution of Universalist Institute, Cambridge, Mass., 1000.
Convention Reporter, The, 2277.
Conversations on Religion, 609.
Cook-Cook, 1464.
Cook-Grosh, 954.
Cook, J. M., 1253, 1283, 1464.
Cook, T. D., 954, 1001, 1464.
Cooke, P., 728, 780.
Coon, R. R., 1342.
Cooper, J. T., 1164.
Coquerel, A., 1465.
Correspondence, 729.
Covell, L. W., 434.
Cowles, H., 1924, 1975.
Cox, S., 1925.
Cox, S. H., 645, 1195.
Crane, S., 1766, 1976, 2070.
Cremer, H., 2090.
Crihfield, A., 1315.
Crist, J., 646.
Crosley, A., 1343.
Croswell, A., 13, 42.
Crowell, S., 327.
Currier, E., 1060, 1095.
Cushing, Z., 730.

Dallett, E., Jr., 781.
Damon, C., 1466.
Davis-Chappell, 888.
Davis, A., 1247.

Davis, E., 1892.
Davis, J., 1901.
Davis, J. M , 887.
Davis, T. H , 815.
Day, E., 682.
Day Star, 2127.
De Benneville, G , 117.
De Lancey, W. H., 1129.
De Marsay, C. H. St. G., 149.
Dean, P., 210, 211, 243, 328, 435, 485, 683, 1002.
Declaration of Faith, Roxbury, Mass., 370.
Demarest, G. L , 1657, 1691, 1786, 1787, 1842, 1926, 1999, 2071.
Denham-Abbott, 2000.
Dennis, J W., 1467.
Denominational Universalist, 2230.
Devol, C., 1130.
Devotional Melodies, 1893.
Dexter, H. M., 1559.
Dialogical Instructor, 2132.
Dialogue, Calvin, Hopkins, Arminius, 354.
Dobney, H. H , 1316.
Dobson, T., 118.
Doctrine of Universal Salvation, The, 752.
Doctrine, The, 399
Doctrinal and Practical Sermons, 1196.
Dodd, M. A., 1165.
Dodge, N. 436.
Dods-Waller, 860.
Dods, J. B , 567, 684, 685, 889, 1003, 1061, 1399.
Dole, B., 223.
Doolittle, N., 1435.
Dorchester, D., 1809, 1927.
Dover, N. H , Consecration of the Peirce Memorial Church in, 2054.
Downer, S. A., 816.
Drew, W. A., 384, 462, 859.
Dutton, J., 463.
Dutton, S., 200, 281.

Eastern Association, 291, 339.
Eastern Rose Bud, 2195.
Eastman, D., 1197.
Eckley, J., 22, 29.
Eddy, R., 1344, 1767, 1861, 2038, 2042, 2072.
Edgarton, S. C., 1144.
Edmunds, A. C., 1531.
Edwards, J., 11, 66, 90.
Edwards, M. L., 2025.
Eine Controversia, 78.
Ellis-Chapin, 2043.
Ellis, F., 957.
Ellis, S., 1588, 2043.
Ely-Thomas, 818.
Ely, J. J., 817.
Emerson-Foulke-Breidenbaugh, 1436.
Emerson, G. H , 1678, 2001, 2055.
Emmons-Pickering, 486.
Emmons, N., 30, 486.
Emmons, S. B., 1004.
Empie, A., 437.
Endless Punishment a result of Character, 1376.
Espy, J. P., 1628.
Eternal Punishment, doctrine of, 1960.
Evangelical Christian, 2246.
Evangelical Discourses, 1248.
Evangelical Psalms, 74.
Evangelical Repertory, 2112.
Evangelical Repository, 2128.
Evangelical Restorationist, 2118.
Evangelical Universalist, 2182.
Evangelist, The, 2204.
Evangelist's Manual, The, 594.
Evans, D , 46, 70, 113, 132, 158.
Evans, J , 137.
Everett, L. S., 568, 610, 647, 648, 877, 1005, 1131.
Everlasting Punishment, 1843.
Expositor and Universalist Review, 2166, 2183.

Fair, J., 1006.
Faith of Universalists, The, 944.
Faithful Witness, 2218.
Falconer, A., 1876.
Fales, R., 1317.
Farley, S., 224.
Farnsworth, J. H., 1560, 1977.
Farnsworth, T. G., 569.
Farr, J., 649.
Farrar, F. W., 1928, 2026.
Fatal Consequences, The, 2.
Fay, C. H., 1284, 1827.
Fenn, J., 225.
Fernald, W. M., 958, 959, 1007, 1500, 1561, 1589.
Ferriss-Ballou, 138.
Ferriss, E., 181, 490.
Ferriss, S., 133.
Ferriss, W., 138.
Fessenden, T., 119.
Figuier, L , 1828.
Fish, W. H., 819.
Fishbough, W., 1008.
Fisher-Emerson, 2001.
Fisher-Walden, 1768.
Fisk, T., 487, 488, 526, 527, 528.
Fisk, W., 385, 584, 861.
Fitch, 570.
Fitz, H., 329, 330, 438, 464, 960.
Flagg, J., 282, 309.
Flanders, G. T., 1249, 1400.
Fletcher, A , 1096.
Fletcher, J. A., 1250, 1285.
Fletcher, L. J., 1653, 1679, 1724.
Flint-Wilson, 1877.
Folsom, A. A., 820, 1286.
Forbes, D., 821, 1009, 1097, 1198, 1227, 1287.
Force of Prejudice, The, 400.
Ford, J. W., 1590.
Forrester, G., 182, 191.
Foster-Ballou, 105.
Foster, D., 97, 114.
Foster, E. S., 1794.
Foster, F., 1510.
Foster, F. H., 1929.
Foster, H. C., 1437.
Foster, J., 139, 1306, 1318.
Fowler, C. J., 1978.
Fowler, P. P , 1345.
Francis, E 1156.,
Free Universal Magazine, 2097.
Freeman Smith, 822.

French-Read, 1979.
French, J., 283
French, W. R., 1701.
Frieze, J., 465, 489, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 731.
Frothingham, R., 1692, 1706.
Fry, W., 1535.
Fuller-Moore, 1011.
Fuller, A., 386, 686, 823, 862.
Fuller, S. W., 650, 863, 1010, 1011.
Fuller, Z., 491, 529, 576, 577.
Fulton, J. D., 1930.
Funeral Services of the late Rev. E. G. Brooks, D. D., 1931.
Future Life, 1897.
Future Punishment, Bible doctrine of, 1761, 1961.
Future Punishment eternal, 1264.
Future Punishment, present state of the question, 1932.
Future Punishments, 320.
Future state of Man, 618.
Future state of Punishment, 332.

Galbraith, J., 1199, 1228.
Gallager, J., 1438.
Gardner, C., 687.
Gardner, S. A., 2091.
Gay, E., 310.
Gazetteer, The, 2114.
General Convention, 167, 193, 195, 214, 252, 268, 311, 335, 662, 809, 1616, 1793.
General Convention, Sermons at sessions of, 747, 1449, 1613.
Genius of Christianity, 2144.
Genius of Liberty, 2149.
George, I., 1346, 1347.
George, N. D., 1098, 1229, 1511.
Gihon, J. H., 1012, 1062, 1099.
Glad Tidings, and Gospel Universalist, 2175.
God's Love, 71.
Goff, I. C., 1251.
Goff, S., 1230.
Goffe, J., 115.
Golden Age, 2257.
Golden Era, 2247.
Goldsmith, Z., 466.
Goodrich, J. T., 1200.
Goodwin, E. S., 530, 611, 651, 688.
Goodwin, J., 1132, 1468.
Gordon, W., 31.
Gorman, T., 1707.
Gorrie, P. D., 1348.
Gospel Advocate, 2113.
Gospel Anchor, 2150.
Gospel Banner, 2174.
Gospel Fountain, 2221.
Gospel Herald, Indiana, 2245.
Gospel Herald, New York, 2105.
Gospel Herald and Universalist Review, 2136.
Gospel Inquirer, 2111.
Gospel Messenger, Alabama, 2216.
Gospel Messenger, London, Canada, 2241.
Gospel Messenger, Providence, 2190.
Gospel Missionary, 2223.
Gospel Preacher, 2125.
Gospel Pulpit, 2265.
Gospel Sun, 2172.
Gospel Tidings, 2261.
Gospel Visitant, 2100, 2101.
Gospel Witness, 2155.
Gospel Witness and Old Colony Reporter, 2181.
Gould, E. P., 2002.
Gould, J., 824.
Gouldburn, E. M., 2003.
Granger, A., 961.
Grant, M., 1627.
Graves-Burruss, 2004.
Gray, T., 331.
Greeley, H., 1769, 1788.
Green, S. B., 1133.
Greenwood, T. J., 782, 1252, 1439, 1562, 1563.
Gregory, J., 783, 825.
Grindle, W., 1231.
Griswold-Soule, 1201.
Griswold, W. H., 1100, 1201.
Grosch und Myers, 689.
Grosh, A. B., 690, 929, 954, 962, 1013
Gross, T., 284.
Guiding Star, 2264.
Guild, E. E., 1166.
Gunnison, N., 1101, 1564, 1565, 1770.
Gurley, J. A., 1134.

Hagadorn, W., 415, 467.
Hale, J. R., 1512.
Haley, J. W., 2028.
Hall, A., 1232.
Hall, C. H., 1933.
Hall, J., 1440, 1591.
Hallock, B. B., 1014.
Hamilton-Williamson, 1167.
Hamilton, H. L., 1934.
Hamilton, L, 1771.
Hanaford, P. A., 1811, 1812, 1844, 1935.
Hanscom-Adams, 930.
Hanscom, W. C., 864, 891.
Hanson-Hanson, 2081.
Hanson-Lozier, 1981.
Hanson, E. R., 2044, 2081.
Hanson, J. W., 1319, 1469, 1731, 1878, 1902, 1936, 1937, 1980, 2005, 2006, 2045, 2074, 2080.
Happy Conversion, The, 915.
Harbinger, The, 2269.
Harlow, W., 578.
Harmon, G. M., 2029, 2046.
Harris, D. B., 865.
Harris, J., 1320.
Hart, S, 244.
Hartley, D., 744.
Hartzell, J. H., 1592.
Haskell, W. G., 1863.
Hatfield, E. F., 1015, 1016, 1063.
Haven, K., 439.
Haverhill Young Men's Institute, 931.
Hawes, J., 492.
Hay, P., Jr., 1017.
Haynes-Ballou, 141.
Haynes, L., 134, 140, 312.
Hayward, H. L., 1202.
Hayward, J., 866.
Hebberd, S. S., 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1982, 2047.

Hedge, F. H., 1593.
Henry, C. S., 1983.
Henson-Ingalls, 1102.
Herald of Freedom, 2147.
Herald of Gospel Truth, 2157.
Herald of Life and Immortality, 2102.
Herald of Salvation, 2110, 2123.
Herald of Truth, Rochester, 2170.
Herald of Truth, Terre Haute, 2224.
Herald of Universal Salvation, 2164.
Hewitt, S. C., 1349.
Hickok, L. P., 1829.
Hicks-Burruss, 1594.
Hierarchal Castigator and Falcon, 2139.
Hill, G., 2007, 2073.
Hill, M., 1135.
Hillyer, S. J., 784, 838.
Hinton, J., 1595, 1830.
History of Universalism, 612.
Hobbs, A. I., 1749.
Hodgdon, N. C., 1813.
Hodge, D. M., 1831, 2056.
Hodges, N. W., 826.
Hodsdon, F. A., 691.
Holbrook, E. A., 1203.
Holland, R. A., 1879.
Holmes-Austin, 1288.
Holmes, D., 1204.
Holt, E., 932.
Hooper, W., 1205, 1596.
Hopkins, J., 1670.
Hopkins, S., 32.
Houghton, M. H., 2092.
Hovey, A., 1597.
Howes-Rockwell-Clark, 1064.
Huber-Stacy, 245.
Huber, M., 135, 245, 744.
Hudson-Cobb, 1630.
Hudson-Skinner, 1018.
Hudson, C., 313, 387, 388, 416, 493, 579, 692, 693, 732, 733, 867, 892.
Hudson, C. F., 1629, 1654, 1655.
Hughes, J., 1875.
Huidekoper, F., 1470.
Huntington, J., 91.
Huntington, W., 92.
Huntington, W. R., 1942.
Huntoon, D. T. V., 1904.
Hutchins, E., 963.
Hutchinson, D., 2082.
Hutchinson, S., 494, 531.
Hymns, General Convention, 146.
Hymns, S. Mitchell, 246.

Ide, J., 417.
Impartialist, The, 2160.
Independent Messenger, 2152.
Independent Universalist, 2226.
Indiana Universalist Convention, 1845.
Interesting Narrative, 532.
Isaac, D., 285.

Jacob, U. M., 893.
Jacobus, M. W., 1708.
Jerauld-Bacon, 1350.
Jewell, H., 1233, 1321, 1322, 1356.
Jobst, J. G., 933.
Johnson, H. S., 734.
Johnson, J. E., 1789.
Johnson, O., 652.
Johnson, S., 53.
Johnson, W. B., 613.
Johnson, W. S., 2058.
Jones, T., 98, 147, 192, 247, 440, 495.
Jordan, J. H., 1289.
Judson, R., 355.
Jukes, A., 2030.

K——, J. C., 1732.
Kelly, J., 212, 213.
Kendall, J., 533.
Kendrick, A., 100.
Kenrick, E. P., 333.
Kent, C., 1943.
Key to Truth, 2271.
Kidwell, J., 614, 615, 1208.
Killpatrick, J., 1065.
King-Hobbs, 1749.
King, T. F., 534, 580, 581, 653, 694, 785, 786, 787.
King, T. S., 1471, 1513, 1566, 1598, 1626.
King, W. W., 1536, 1599.
Kinney, J. H., 788.
Kirkwood, R., 1514.
Kirtley-Conner, 2059.
Knap, L., 441.
Knapp, J., 1103, 1631, 1750.
Kneeland, A., 120, 121, 124, 142, 143, 148, 176, 183, 201, 226, 248, 249, 263, 286, 287, 314, 389, 418, 442, 468, 469, 470, 582, 583.
Kneeland-M'Calla, 419.
Kneeland-Whittemore, 389.
Knowlton, I. C., 2083.

L., 1104.
Lacey, W. B., 177.
Lake, E. H., 1369, 1401, 1472, 1473, 1501, 1515, 1516, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1632.
La Mennais, F. De, 1020.
Lamp of Liberty, 2126.
Lamson, D. R., 894.
Landers, S. P., 1019.
Landis, R. W., 1600.
Lane, B. I., 1168, 1206.
Langworthy, F., 868.
Latham-Cook, 1253.
Laurie, A. G., 1207, 1733, 1944.
Lawrence, E. A., 1984.
Leavitt, J., 496.
Lee-Ballou, 1542.
Lee-Sawyer, 2031.
Lee, L., 869, 1218.
Lee, S., 1601.
Le Fevre-Kendall-Grew, 789.
Le Fevre-Moore, 829.
Le Fevre-Sawyer, 830.
Le Fevre-Stickney, 790.
Le Fevre, C. F., 654, 655, 789, 790, 827, 828, 829, 830, 895, 1021.
Leonard, C. H., 1402, 1502, 1693, 1709, 1814, 1846, 1865.
Leonard, E., 390.
Leonard, H. C., 1351, 1352, 1403, 1517, 1718.
Letter to Rev. F. T. Gray, 1105.
Levings-Sadler, 1022.

Lewis, J., 934, 1633.
Lewis, W. P., 2008.
Liberal Companion, 2145.
Liberal Religious Movement in the United States, 1641.
Liberalist, The, 2124.
Light Shining, 178.
Lily of the Valley, 2248.
Lincoln, V., 1543, 1985, 2009, 2048.
Lisher, G. B., 356, 357.
Livermore, D. P., 1220, 1656, 1671, 1672, 1719.
Lloyd, S. H., 1136.
Lombard, J., 1634.
Long, C., 1635.
Loring, F., 791.
Louisville Berean and Biblical Interpreter, 2179.
Loveland-Laberee, 264.
Loveland, S. C., 202, 250, 288, 391, 420, 421.
Low, G. J., 1986.
Lowell, Fortieth Anniversary of Dedication of First Universalist Church in, 1765.
Lowell Tracts, The, 1040.
Lowrey, A., 1751.
Lozier, J. H., 1931.
Lyon, J., 2061.

Maile, J. L., 2010.
Maine Universalist Convention, 1357, 1702, 1752, 1832.
Mandell, D. J., 935.
Manford-Franklin, 1290.
Manford-Sweeney, 1790.
Manford, E., 1474, 1734, 1866.
Manford's Monthly Magazine, 2259.
Manley, W. E., 1023, 1106, 1602, 1753.
Manning, L. W., 1323.
Marsh, J., 1107.
Marston, M., 1917.
Mason, L. B., 1254, 1291.
Massachusetts Universalist Convention, 1604, 1605.
Massachusetts Universalist Convention Tracts, 1694.
Massachusetts Univ. S. S. Union, 890.
Mather, S., 23, 33.
Maurice, F. D., 1475, 1476, 1754.
Maxey, J., 72.
Maxham, G. V., 1477.
Maxim, A., 265.
Mayhew, J., 6, 7.
Maynard, L., 497, 616, 735.
Mayo, A. D., 1234, 1255, 1292, 1293, 1324, 1404, 1441, 1544, 1567, 1680, 1695, 1987.
McCalla, W. L., 443.
McCarthy, C. P., 2011.
McCollom, J. T., 1603.
McClure, A. W., 695.
McKee-Skinner, 831.
McKim, R. H., 2060.
McLeod, A. W., 896.
McMorris, S. J., 736, 870, 1442, 1568.
McNeille-Lyon, 2061.
Mead, C. M., 1988.
Mead, S., 93.
Mellen, W. R. G., 1518.
Memminger, R. W., 1847.
Memorial to the Pennsylvania Convention, 1294.
Merriam, G. S., 1894.
Merrill, S. M., 1945.
Merriman, D., 1848.
Merritt-Fisk, 584.
Merritt, T., 150, 266, 267, 584.
Messenger of Glad Tidings, 2198.
Messenger of Peace, 2116.
Messenger of the Covenant, 2267.
Miles, H., 897.
Miles, S., 897.
Miller, O. D., 1478, 1479, 1606, 1815, 2075, 2094.
Miller, T. H., 1569.
Miner, A. A., 1325, 1405, 1443, 1480, 1636, 1673, 1946, 2062.
Minnesota Universalist Convention, 1720.
Missionary, The, New York, 2253.
Missionary, The, Terre Haute, 2219.
Mitchell, E., 168, 315, 737.
Mitchell, S., 2063.
Mitchell, J., 738.
Montgomery, G. W., 898, 899, 936, 964, 1353.
Moor, C. R., 1481.
Moore-Adams, 1519
Moore, A., 829, 1011, 1024, 1066, 1067, 1169, 1256.
Moore, J., 1137.
Moore, W. D., 1784.
Mordecai Servetus, 18.
Morgan, J., 1295.
Morse, P., 392, 656.
Morse, W., 444, 498, 657, 696, 739.
Mott, G. S., 1816
Munroe, N. T., 1545.
Murray, B. B., 499.
Murray, J., 73, 86, 99, 184, 227, 1742.
Murray, J. S., 101, 2038.
Muscott, J. M., 2084
My Progress in Error, 1108.
Myrtle, The, 2251.

Nazarene, The, 2192.
Neville, F., 228.
New Covenant, The, 2236.
New Hampshire Universalist Convention, 1867.
New Hampshire Universalist Register, 2209.
New Haven Examiner, 2158.
New Meeting-House, 617.
New Religion, The, 2272.
New York Amulet, 2140.
New York Convention, 433, 1059, 1381.
New York Univ. Miss. Soc., 1094, 1257.
New York Univ. S. S. Association, 1359.
Nichols, H. M., 1068.
Nichols, J., 1326, 1637.
Nichols, J. R., 2064.
Nicolai, Geo. Klein, 1.
Northern Association, 144, 151, 166, 215, 229, 269, 422.
Norton, E., 109.
Norton, J., 159, 160.
Norwood, A., 697, 1109, 1406, 1407.
Noyes, G., 900.

Nye-Demarest, 1657.
Nye, H. R., 1735, 1947, 2085.

Occasional Sermon, The, 1080.
O'Daniels, D. C., 1503, 1520, 1710.
Ohio Universalist, 2217.
Ohio Universalist Convention, 1736, 1817, 1849.
Ohio Universalist Sunday School Convention, 1755, 1791.
Old and New, The, 2263.
Olive Branch, 2129.
Olive Leaf, 2254.
One Hundred Arguments, 1069.
Organization: Ch. at Prov., R. I., 393.
Origen, 658.
Original Sermons, 659.
Osburn, D. L., 1482.
Our Church, 2278.
Our Gift, 1379.
Our Mission, 2276.
Outline of Debate, 709.
Owen, J., 75.
Oxenham, F. M., 2032.

Packard, L., 901.
Paige, L. R., 619, 740, 937, 1209.
Palmer, J. E., 358.
Park, E. A., 2065.
Parker-Baldwin, 1483.
Parker, D., 1170.
Parker, J., 620.
Paterson, J., 535.
Patterson, A. J., 1570, 1868, 1905, 2012, 2066.
Patton, J. M., 1948.
Patton, W. W., 1792.
Peck-Loveland, 203.
Peck, A., 741.
Peck, G., 500.
Peck, J., 185, 203, 359.
Pennsylvania State Convention, 1408.
Pennsylvania Tracts, 1082.
Pennsylvania Universalist, 2242.
Perkins, A., 902.
Perkins, G. W., 1258.
Perkins, O., 1484.
Perry, J., 832.
Perry, J. B., 1658.
Peters, B., 1522.
Peters, S., 47.
Petitpierre, F. O., 81.
Pettengill, J. H., 1949.
Phelps, A., 2095.
Philadelphia Liberalist, 2161.
Philadelphia Universalist Magazine and Christian Messenger, 2106.
Philanthropist, The, Ithaca, N. Y., 2142.
Philanthropist, The, Pittsfield, Mass., 2220.
Philomath Encyclopædia, 2176.
Pickering, D., 289. 337, 338, 360, 361, 362, 363, 394, 423, 471, 472, 486, 501, 536, 585, 621, 698, 793, 871.
Pierce-Burruss, 1607.
Pierce-Hartwell, 1110.
Pierce-Shehane, 1355.
Pierce, L., 1380.
Pingree-Jewell, 1356.
Pingree-Rice, 1211.
Pingree-Waller, 1210.
Pingree, A., 1236.
Pingree, E. M., 1260.
Pitkin-Bulfinch, 903.
Pitkin, J. B., 794.
Pitrat, J. C., 1546.
Pomp, N., 12.
Pond, E., 290, 904.
Pool, C., 125.
Pope, R. S., 1212, 1409.
Portland Collection: Hymns, 1721.
Portland, Me., Fiftieth Anniversary of First Universalist Society in, 1810.
Portsmouth, N. H., Centennial Anniversary of the Planting of Universalism in, 1860.
Potter-Nutter-Stiles, 1989.
Power, J. H., 1138.
Practical Christian, The, 2205.
Pray, E., 938.
Preacher, The, 976.
Preaching the Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 1638.
Priest, J., 905.
Priestcraft Unmasked, 2141.
Priestley, J., 94, 95, 136.
Prime, D. N., 1608, 1880.
Primitive Expounder, 2208.
Prince, J., 1296.
Probation and Future Punishment, 1365.
Probation, Objections to, 1378.
Proof of Universalism, 795, 833.
Prosser-Streeter, 395.
Prouty-Foster, 1794.
Providence, R. I., Half Century Memorial of First Universalist Society in, 1807.
Psalms, Hymns, Gloucester, 152.
Psalms, Hymns, Philadelphia, 110.
Pullman, J. M., 1881, 1950, 1951.
Pullman, R. H., 1906.
Purington, C., 1996.
Purves, J., 292.
Purviance, D., 473.
Putnam, I., 251, 270.
Putnam, J. M., 834.
Putnam, J. W., 1571, 1609.

Quinby, G. W., 966, 1410, 1411, 1681, 1882.
Quinby, O. H., 1070.

Rains, A., 474.
Ramsey, Chevalier, 204.
Rand, J., 271.
Rationalist, The, 2210.
Rayner, M., 502, 537, 660, 742, 796, 797, 967.
Read, M. S., 1979.
Reed, G. W., 798.
Reese, W. I., 586, 622, 661.
Reflections on Revivals, 743.
Reformed Christian Guide, 2146.
Religious Denominations in the United States, 1615.
Religious Inquirer, Connecticut, 2109.
Religious Inquirer, New York, 2099.
Religious Instructor, Norway, Me., 2214.
Religious Instructor, Paris, Me., 2231.

Religious Instructor, Portland, Me., 2239.
Religious Investigator, 2232.
Relly, James, 10, 15, 16, 34, 153.
Remarks on the Letter, 538.
Remarks on the Modern Doctrine, 424.
Remington, S., 906.
Reply to a Discourse, 872.
Reply to a Sermon, 1267.
Report of Committee of Church of the Messiah on suggestions of the Springfield Conference, 1772.
Restorationist, The, 2180.
Restorationist's Tract, 835.
Resurrection Past, 1213.
Revivals of Religion, 503.
Reynolds, E. W., 1259, 1297, 1382, 1504, 1523, 1610, 1611.
Reynolds, J., 836.
Rexford, E. L., 1864, 2033.
Rhode Island Catechism, 1703.
Rhode Island Universalist Convention, 927, 939, 965, 1682.
Rhode Island Universalist Tract Society, 1140.
Rice, N. L., 1211.
Rich, H. H., 2076.
Richards-Lane, 76.
Richards, G., 87, 111, 161, 186, 1824, 1833.
Richardson-Huber-Hartley, 744.
Rider, W. C., 873.
Right of Universalists to testify, 546.
Robbins, R. D. C., 2034.
Roberts, O., 1298.
Robinson, I., 162.
Rochester Magazine, 2115.
Rockwell, C., 1064.
Rogers-Pingree, 1260.
Rogers, A. G., 2013.
Rogers, G., 663, 700, 837, 907, 968, 1025, 1071, 1141, 1214, 1235.
Rose Bud, The, 2255.
Rose of Sharon, 2193.
Rounseville-Pingree, 1236.
Roy, J. E., 1795.
Royce, A., 940.
Roxbury, Mass., Semi-Centennial Memorial of Universalist Church in, 1820.
Rudulph, Z., 1299.
Ruffner, H., 396.
Rules and By-Laws, Roxbury, 316.
Russell, P. R., 701, 1111, 1142.
Ryder, W. H., 1572, 1737, 1907.

Sabbath School Annual, 2225.
Sabbath School Contributor, 2188.
Sabine, J., 445.
Sadler, L. L., 745, 1026, 1078, 1171.
Safford, O. F., 2077.
Sanderson, G., 908.
Sanford-Ballou, 1358.
Sanford, P. P., 1072.
Sargent, E., 48, 1485.
Sawyer-Westcott, 1486.
Sawyer, C. M., 1445.
Sawyer, E. H., 1991.
Sawyer, T. J., 746, 799, 830, 909, 910, 969, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1073, 1215, 1360, 1413, 1494, 1612, 1756, 1796, 1818, 1823, 1834, 1835, 1883, 1908, 1909, 1992, 2035.
Schmucker, S. M., 1444.
Scott-Edgarton, 1144.
Scott-Sawyer, 1445.
Scriptural Exposition, — Sheep and Goats, 364.
Seagrave, D., 2086.
Seiss, J. A., 1952.
Seitz, J. A., 1757, 1895, 1953, 1954, 1955.
Select Theological Library, 1172.
Selleck-Hillyer, 838.
Semi-Monthly Progressionist, 2256.
Serpent Uncoiled, 1237.
Shaw, B., 539.
Shaw, J., 365.
Shecut, J. L. E. W., 702.
Shedd, J., 970.
Shedd, W. G. T., 2096.
Shehane, C. F. R., 1127, 1173, 1355, 1487.
Sheldon, D. N., 1524.
Sheldon, H. O., 1112.
Shepard, S., 102.
Sherman, E., 1446.
Shinn, A., 1030.
Short Method with Universalism, 1031.
Shrigley, J., 1113.
Silloway-Beck, 1739.
Silloway-Marshall, 1711.
Silloway-Ryder, 1683.
Silloway, T. W., 1659.
Sisson, W., 1956.
Skinner, C. A., 1547, 1660.
Skinner, D., 397, 475, 587, 748, 997, 1174, 1773.
Skinner, G. W., 1639, 1696.
Skinner, J. O., 1740, 1797.
Skinner, O. A., 588, 623, 703, 800, 831, 911, 971, 972, 973, 1032, 1033, 1074, 1114, 1115, 1145, 1175, 1176, 1261, 1327, 1412.
Skinner, S. P., 1146.
Skinner, W., 589, 624, 625, 749.
Slade, H., 1957.
Smalley, J., 49, 56.
Smiley, E., 1697.
Smith-Sawyer, 1413.
Smith, B., 1758, 1798.
Smith, D. D., 704, 776.
Smith, E., 126, 154, 293, 317.
Smith, G., 1614.
Smith, J. M. H., 1573.
Smith, J. R., 1661.
Smith, M., 504.
Smith, M. H., 626, 705, 706, 874, 941, 1075, 1116, 1216, 1263.
Smith, R., 1147, 1177, 1217.
Smith, S. R., 366, 367, 505, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 590, 627, 822, 974, 1034, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1262, 1300, 1361.
Smith, T. S., 664.
Smith, U., 1850.
Smith, W. P., 61.
Some Observations, 62.
Some Thoughts, 4, 79.
Soule-Soule, 1415.
Soule, C. A., 1414.
Soule, H. B., 1201.
Southern Evangelist, 2167.
Southern Pioneer, 2151.
Southern Universalist, 2184.
Spaulding, J., 127.

Spear, C., 839, 1035, 1076.
Spirit of the Pilgrims, 2133.
Spring, G , 476.
St. John, T. E., 1759.
Stacy, N., 1363.
Star in the East, 2171.
Star in the West, 2131.
Star of Bethlehem, 2191.
Star of Salvation, 2201.
Star of the Pacific, 2258.
Star of the South, 2122.
Statement of Facts, 1077.
Stearns, J. G., 591.
Stebbins, J., 1488.
Steene, M. J., 1662.
Stephens, Sir J., 1364.
Stephens, J., 912.
Sterns, H. F., 750.
Stetson, S., 398.
Stevens, D. T., 1698.
Stickney, W. A , 790.
Stiles, W. C , 2014, 2015.
Stilling, H , 216, 1178.
Stone, E M., 880, 913.
Storer, H. G , 1684.
Stowe, C. E , 1352
Streeter, B., 318.
Streeter, R., 230, 368, 369, 425, 545, 665, 666, 707, 751, 840, 841.
Streeter, S., 294, 708, 942.
Streeter, S. and R., 502.
Strickland, G. G., 1179.
Strickland, W. P , 1447.
Strong, N., 96.
Stuart, M., 503, 628, 1036.
Sunday School Helper, 2266.
Sunday School Libraries, Books for, 2078.
Sunday School Liturgy, 1328.
Sweeney, J. S., 1790.
Sweetser, E. C., 1994, 2068.
Sword of the Spirit, 753.

Taylor, M., 1491.
Taylor, T. K., 875.
Tenney-Sadler, 1078.
Tenney, T. J., 1180.
Terry, E., 187.
Teulon, W. F., 943.
Thacher, G., 319.
Thacher, P., 35.
Thayer-Congdon, 2052.
Thayer-Fletcher, 1724.
Thayer, T. B., 876, 1037, 1302, 1366, 1505, 1574, 1575, 1663, 1674, 1699, 1723, 1741, 1760, 1774, 1775, 1819, 1836, 1837, 1869, 1884, 1896, 1958, 1959, 2017, 2018, 2036, 2049, 2050, 2051.
Theiss, D J. O., 1577.
Theological Repository, 2165.
Theological School at Canton, statement of facts, 1640.
Tholuck, F. A. D., 1489.
Thomas-Lee, 1218.
Thomas, A. C., 595, 667, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 802, 818, 945, 977, 1039, 1081, 1153, 1367, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1417, 1449, 1550, 1838.
Thompson, H. P., 1852
Thompson, J. P., 1642, 1664.
Thompson, J. S., 402, 427, 446, 447, 478, 506, 547, 668, 760.
Thompson, S., 163.
Thompson, Z., 1368, 1995.
Thornton, M. E., 1643.
Thoughts on the Doctrine, 67.
Three Curious Pieces, 24.
Tidd, J., 401, 710.
Tillotson, O. H., 1386, 1490.
Titus, A., Jr., 2037, 2087.
To Nobody, 596.
Todd-Lake, 1369.
Todd-Thompson, 760.
Todd, L. C., 760, 803, 1219.
Tomlinson-Livermore, 1220.
Tomlinson, R., 1041, 1578.
Torrey, H , 1042.
Touchstone, The, 914.
Towne, E. C., 1853.
Townley, R., 1418.
Townsend, L. T., 1776, 1885, 1963.
Townsend, M., 403.
Townsend, S., 36, 37, 48. 57, 63, 82, 88.
Tracts for the People, 1521.
Tracy, F. P., 916.
Tracy, J., 978.
Travis, T., 404.
Trial, The, 295.
Trull, E., 804, 842.
Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, 2134.
Tucker, J. T., 1799.
Turner, E., 164, 169, 194, 205, 217, 218, 253, 254, 272, 296, 297, 340, 371, 372, 405, 1329, 1806.
Turner, J., 1043.
Tuttle, J. H., 1579, 1871, 1964, 1965.
Tweed-Barry, 1709.
Tyler-Whiton, 1966.
Tyler, E. R , 598.
Tyler, J., 103, 170.
Tyler, W. S., 1966.

Universal Restoration, 104.
Universalism, 321, 761.
Universalism and Restorationism, 955.
Universalism Calmly Considered, 1044.
Universalism Contrary, 83.
Universalism Examined, Renounced, and Exposed, 1154.
Universalism Tested, 1303.
Universalism, The Latest Word of, 1962.
Universalist, The, Boston, 2163, 2262.
Universalist, The, Chicago, 2275.
Universalist, The, Middletown, 2187.
Universalist, The, Utica, 2119.
Universalist Advocate, 2238.
Universalist Annual, 2233.
Universalist Belief, 805.
Universalist Cabinet, 2206.
Universalist Centennial, 1767, 1793.
Universalist Expositor, 2143.
Universalist Family Visitor, 2194.
Universalist Herald, 2232.
Universalist Historical Society, catalogue of library of, 952.
Universalist Home Missionary Society, 1419.
Universalist Magazine, 2104.
Universalist Miscellany, 2212.

Universalist Missionary Almanac, 2270.
Universalist Preacher, 2135.
Universalist Preacher and Evangelical Repository, 2185.
Universalist Publishing House, 2079.
Universalist Pulpit, 1416, 1525.
Universalist Quarterly, 2213.
Universalist Register and Almanac, 2177
Universalist Sabbath School Union, 1377.
Universalist Union, 2173.
Upjohn, W., 762.
Usher, J. M., 1304.
Utica Magazine, 2130.

Van Alstine, N., 1265.
Van Campen, H., 1420.
Veazie, G. A., 1967.
Vesper Service for Universalist Church, Baltimore, 1777.
Vibbert, G. H., 1665, 1725.
Visitor, The, 711.

Waddell, W. C. H., 1996.
Wade, J., 341.
Wagner, G. X., 843.
Wait, W. B., 1238.
Waldo, J. C., 548, 806.
Walker, J., 549
Walker, J. B., 1117.
Wallace, J., 428, 429.
Waller, J. L., 1210.
Waller, W. J., 860.
Walsh, J. T., 1551, 1580.
Walworth-Burr, 1854.
Walworth, H. R., 1968.
Ward, H. D., 946
Warren, W. F., 1666.
Washington, D. C., Sermon and Addresses at the Opening of the Universalist Church in, 2067.
Watchman and Christian Repository, 2138.
Weaver, G. S., 1421, 1492, 1800.
Webster, H. D. L., 1493
West, A., 1778.
West, W., 763.
Westcott-Sawyer, 1494.
Westcott, I., 1486.
Western Association, 336, 406, 426, 433.
Western Evangelist, 2222.
Western Luminary, 2202.
Western Magazine, 2215.
Western Olive Branch, 2240.
Western Tract Society, 1239.
Weston, C., 1886, 1997.
Weston, G. F., 1855.
Wetherill, S., 68.
Wheelock, V. G., 1821.
Where is the City, 1762.
Whiston, O., 716, 1330.
Whitaker, F., 1083.
Whitcomb, T. J., 669, 712.
Whitman, B., 764.
Whitman, S., 206.
Whitney, G. W., 1839.
Whitney, J., 979, 1118.
Whiton, J. M., 1898, 1966.
Whittaker, W., 844.
Whittemore-Balfour, 1422.
Whittemore, B., 507, 599, 600, 629, 670, 713, 845, 878
Whittemore, S., 500
Whittemore, T., 342, 373, 374, 389, 407, 408, 479, 508, 509, 510, 550, 551, 601, 630, 631, 632, 671, 713, 714, 715, 724, 765, 766, 1045, 1084, 1181, 1305, 1457, 1581, 1617, 1644, 1900, 1911.
Wiggins-Thomas, 846.
Williams, A., 717
Williams, R. O., 767, 1119, 1182, 1887.
Williams, T., 1618.
Williamson, I. D., 672, 673, 768, 769, 807, 847, 879, 917, 980, 1046, 1167, 1266, 1331, 1370, 1371, 1423, 1645, 1646, 1726, 1801.
Willis, L., 770, 1619.
Wilson, J. V., 1240.
Wilson, W. W., 1877.
Winchester-Stone, 880.
Winchester, E., 19, 25, 38, 44, 51, 58, 64, 77, 84, 85, 89, 107, 128, 179.
Winfield, A. B., 1372.
Wisconsin Universalist Convention, 1763.
Witherell, J. F., 1047, 1048, 1085, 1120, 1155, 1183, 1184
Woman's Centenary Association, 1856, 2089.
Woman's Universalist Missionary Society of Massachusetts, 2093.
Wood, J., 231, 232, 233, 255, 273, 274, 298, 448, 602.
Woodbury, A., 1969.
Woodward, P., 129.
Wooley, E. M., 1506.
Worcester, Mass., History of Universalist Church in, 2086.
Worcester, Mass., Twenty-fifth Anniversary Services of Universalist Society at, 1722.
Worcester, S., 108.
Worden, A. M., 1526.
Wordsworth, C., 1970.
Worth, W., 69.
Wright, E. D., 771.
Wright, J., 808.
Wright, N., 772.

Yancey, Robert, 9.
Yates-Francis, 1156.
Young Christian, 2249.
Young, J., 80, 122.
Youth's Cabinet, 2211.
Youth's Friend, 2227.
Youth's Monthly Magazine, 2244.

Zschokke, J. H. D., 1685, 2069.

INDEX TO THE HISTORY.

Abbott, Rev. Thomas, ii. 231.
Acrelius, Israel, on Universalism among the Dunkers, i. 36; among the Moravians, i. 42.
Adams, Miss Hannah, on Universalists and Universalism in 1791, i. 345.
Adams, President John, introduces Mr. Murray to members of his cabinet, i. 512.
Adams, Rev. Salmon, ii. 248.
"Adelos" writes against Chauncy, i. 92.
Alabama, first preaching of Universalism in, ii. 365; convention in, 365.
Albigenses, The, said to have been Universalists, i. 7.
Alfred, Rev. James, in Ohio, ii. 394.
Allen, Dr. Beverly, i. 411.
Allen, Rev. John, ii. 256.
Allen, Rev. Timothy, attacks Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, i. 87.
Ambler, Rev. R. P., ii. 454.
Amidown, Holmes, on Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Amidown, Luther, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Andrews, Rev. L. F. W., in Alabama, ii. 365.
Andrews, Zephaniah, clerk of the Providence Universalists, i. 210.
Angel, Rev. Thomas, ii. 454.
Annan, Rev. Robert, his pamphlet against Universalism, i. 271.
"An Appeal to the Impartial Public," i. 187.
Arkansas, Universalism in, ii. 366.
Arms, Rev. E. B., in Florida, ii. 369.
Articles of Association of the Independent Church in Gloucester, i. 175.
Articles of Faith adopted by the Philadelphia Convention in 1790, Trinitarian in their character, i. 303; suspected of leaning to Unitarianism by the Boston Church, 307; adopted by the New England Convention in 1794, 431.
Aspinwall, Rev. J. A., ii. 423.
Atkins, Rev. W., first Universalist preacher in Alabama, ii. 365.
Attleborough, Mass., Universalists in, in 1792, i. 393.
Atwood, Rev. I. M., President of St. Lawrence Theological School, ii. 462.
Augustine's testimony to the number of Universalists, i. 6.

Babbitt, Rev. James, i. 543.
Babcock, Rev. Peleg B., ii. 423.
Babson, John J., gives incidents in the trial of Mr. Murray's suit *vs.* the First Parish, i. 194.
Bachelor's Hall, Philadelphia, occupied by Mr. Murray, i. 329.
Badger, Rev. Mr., ii. 149.
Bailey, Rev. J., i. 409.
Baker, Rev. Samuel, ii. 163.
Baker, Thomas, ii. 431.
Baker, Rev. William, ii. 125.
Balch, Rev. W. S., on Rev. William Farewell, i. 353; his services to the

St. Lawrence Theological School, ii. 462.
Ballou, Rev. Adin. See Restorationist Controversy.
Ballou, Rev. Barton, Principal of Nichols Academy, ii. 413; his school at Wrentham, Mass., 445.
Ballou, Rev. Daniel, ii. 461.
Ballou, Rev. David, i. 293.
Ballou, Rev. Eli, on the life and works of Rev. Russell Streeter, ii. 131; in Canada, 404.
Ballou, Rev. Hosea, i. 353; an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413; belief in future discipline, 533; change of views in regard to, ii. 265; clerk of N. E. Con. in 1795, i. 444; committee on denominational school, ii. 411; correspondence with Rev. Joel Foster, i. 520; with Rev. Edward Turner, ii. 261; with editor of "Kaleidoscope," 260; declines offer for his removal to Boston, i. 511; edits the "Universalist Magazine," ii. 268; retires from, 273; resumes, 276; encounters opposition in preaching Unitarian vews, i. 455; exposition of Hebrews ix. 27, 28, ii. 152; his unexpected ordination, i. 433; his views in 1811, on the "Spirits in Prison," ii. 135; itinerant labors in 1794, i. 431; letter to Rev. Lemuel Haynes, ii. 111; letter to Rev. T. Whittemore on his Unitarian opinions, i. 454; letters in "Universalist Magazine" on Restorationist Controversy, ii. 274; supplies Mr. Murray's pulpit, i. 508; the parish committee apologize for his treatment by Mr. Balch and Mrs. Murray, 509; theology of his Notes on the Parables, ii. 65; theology of his treatise on Atonement, 87; Unitarian views of, i. 448. See Restorationist Controversy.
Ballou, Rev. Hosea, 2d, ii. 195; committee on denominational school, 412; first President of Tufts College, 198, 468; his Ancient History of Universalism, i. 2, ii. 193; his account of Mr. Murray's theology, i. 153; of Mr. Winchester's views, 247; his students in theology, ii. 198; on the spread of Unitarian views among Universalists, i. 455; on Jacob Wood's pamphlet, ii. 267. See Restorationist Controversy.
Ballou, Rev. Levi, ii. 198.
Ballou, Rev. Russell A., ii. 198.
Ballou Seminary, ii. 445.
Banger, Rev. Timothy, i. 39, ii. 72.
Barnes, Rev. Seth, a pioneer in Minnesota, ii. 385; in Wisconsin, 403.
Barns, Lucy, i. 258.
Barns, Sally, i. 258.
Barns, Rev. Thomas, i. 257, 514, 542; at the suicide's funeral, 516; brings suit against the parish of Falmouth, Me., and is defeated, ii. 378.
Barnum, Phineas T., a benefactor of Tufts College, ii. 469.
Barry, Rev. A. C., in Wisconsin, ii. 402.
Bartholomew, Rev. T. S., ii. 423; in Wisconsin, 402.
Bartlett, Rev. Robert, ii. 194; committee on denominational school, 412.
Barton, Rev. Asa, ii. 253.
"Bath-Kol," a book against Universalism, i. 99.
Bayne, Peter, on classing Sir Henry Vane with Universalists, i. 21.
Beers, Rev. Lewis, ii. 144.
Bellingham, Mass., Universalists in, in 1792, i. 394.
Belknap, Rev. Dr. Jeremy, i. 96.
Belsham, Rev. Thomas, on King's Chapel Liturgy, i. 451.
Benedict's "History of Baptists," on the inroads of Universalism, i. 309.
Bennett, Rev. B. L., ii. 460.
Berleburger Bibel, The, i. 9.
Biddlecom, Rev. Daniel R., ii. 423; agent for Smithson College, 475.
Biddlecom, Rev. David, ii. 423.
Bigelow, Rev. Loring, ii. 163.
Bigelow, Rev. Timothy, ii. 126; on the cause in Ohio, 393.
Billinghurst, Rev. Thomas, ii. 147.
Billings, Rev. James, in Texas, ii. 399.

Bisbe, Rev. John, ii. 228.
Black, James, on the temperance attitude and rank of Dr. Benjamin Rush, i. 321.
Bledsoe, Rev. William, i. 410.
Bliss, Rev. Franklin S., ii. 435.
Boden, Rev. J., ii. 423.
Bohler, Rev. Peter, i. 42.
Bolles, Rev. E. C., at New Orleans, ii. 377.
Bolton, James, i. 37.
Borden, Rev. Thomas, ii. 454.
Boston, the Universalists of, purchase a meeting-house, i. 209; organize a church, 347; Mr. Murray gives them half his time, 268; Mr. Murray resides with, 419.
Bowles, Rev. B. F., ii. 454.
Bradburn, Rev. George, ii. 198, 334.
Breare, Rev. Robinson, in Halifax, N. S., ii. 406.
Brewster, C. W., on Jonathan M. Sewall, i. 273.
Brewster, Rev. Henry B., ii. 333.
Briggs, Rev. Levi, ii. 230.
Brooke, Henry, i. 11.
Brooks, Rev. E. G., on defects in denominational polity, ii. 351.
Brooks, Rev. John, ii. 257.
Brown, Rev. Isaac, ii. 198.
Brown, John, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Brown, John and Alice, i. 399.
Brown, Thomas, his History of Universalism, ii. 192.
Browne, Rev. Lewis C., ii. 423.
Buchtel College, ii. 472.
Buchtel, John R., chief patron of Buchtel College, ii. 473.
Buck, Mrs. Levisa, i. 258.
Buckminster, Rev. J. S., on Unitarian progress, i. 453.
Burrington, Rev. Lindley M., ii. 435.
Burruss, Rev. J. C., in North Carolina, ii. 392.
Bushnell, Rev. Jesse, ii. 423.
Butterfield, Rev. Joseph, ii. 252, first preacher of Universalism in New Brunswick, 405.
California, Universalism in, ii. 366.
Campbell, Rev. A., seeks alliance with the Dunkers, i. 39.
Campbell, Rev. J. H., ii. 454.
Canada, Universalism in, ii. 404.
Canfield, Rev. A. J., ii. 460.
Capen, Rev. E. H., President of Tufts College, ii. 468.
Capron, Rev. Edmund, ii. 333.
Cargill, Rev. John H., ii. 454.
Carlton, Rev. S. P., in West Virginia, ii. 402.
Carrique, Rev. Richard, ii. 85; in Rhode Island, 397; committee on denominational school, 411.
Cartwright, Rev. Peter, on Universalism in Kentucky, i. 411.
Case, Rev. Elijah, ii. 454.
Centenary Year, recommendations on the observance of the, ii. 353.
Central Association of N. Y., on the necessity for a denominational school, ii. 416; appoints trustees of Clinton Liberal Institute, 417.
Chambré, Rev. A. St. J., on committee of Ministers' Meeting, ii. 339.
Chandler, Rev. Seth, ii. 330, 332, 334.
Chapman, Rev. Giles, i. 38.
Charleston, S. C., Trinitarian Universalist organization in, ii. 398.
Charter of Compact, adopted by Universalists of Gloucester, i. 207; by Association at Oxford, 207; by societies in Milford, Oxford, and Warwick, 209.
Chauncy, Rev Dr. Charles, i. 83; attacks on his writings, 87; his pamphlet and book in favor of Universalism, 84; letter to Dr. Stiles, 85; replies to Eckley, 88.
Children's Sunday, origin of, ii. 408; designated by the General Convention, 409.
Cilley, Rev. W. S., in Nova Scotia, ii. 406.
Clapp, Rev. Theodore, in New Orleans, ii. 377.
Clark, Rev. Joab, ii. 231.
Clark, Rev. Uriah, ii. 423.
Clarke, Rev. Dr. John, i. 84, 352; Mr. Murray's estimate of, 502; re-

plies to Rev. S. Mather, 87; sickness and death, 502.
Clarke, Rev. Richard, i. 43; publishes Mr. Winchester's sermon in England, 238.
Cleveland, Rev. John, his pamphlet against Universalism, i. 146.
Cleverly, Rev. Asa P., ii. 256.
Clinton Liberal Institute, origin and career of, ii. 416; opening of, 419; Principals of, 422.
Clowes, Rev. Dr. Timothy, i. 60.
Cobb, Rev. Sylvanus, ii. 253; an early advocate of total abstinence and anti-slavery, 254; his theological students, 256; is thanked by President Lincoln for his defence of the contemplated policy of emancipation, 256; in New Brunswick, 405.
Coffin, Rev. John, ii. 18.
Coffin, Elder Michael, i. 351; is appointed missionary, 433.
Cole, Rev. D. M., preaches at New Orleans, ii. 376; in North Carolina, 391.
Collins, Abraham, i. 255.
Colorado, Universalism in, ii. 367.
Cone, Rev. Orello, Professor in St. Lawrence Theological School, ii. 462; President of Buchtel College, 474.
Conger, Rev. E. L., Professor in Theological Department of Lombard University, ii. 464.
Congregationalists, Universalists among the, i. 83.
Connecticut, Universalists in, in 1792, i. 395; organization in, ii. 367.
Cook, Rev. Maria, ii. 138.
Cook, Rev. Stephen, ii. 177.
Coolidge, Rev. J. A., ii. 198.
Copeland, Rev. A. B., ii. 423.
Coppin, Richard, i. 11, 12; 337 *n.*, 380.
Cox, Rev. Nicholas, i. 310; on free-will and decrees, 386.
Craig, John, establishes professorships in the St. Lawrence University, and the Theological School, ii. 462.
Crandall, Rev. Amos, ii. 222.
Crehore, Rev. Joseph, ii. 454.
Croswell, Rev. of Boston, charges Mr. Murray with denial of belief in Universalism, i. 159.
Curry, Rev. W. W., agent for Smithson College, ii. 475.
Curtis, Rev. A. H., ii. 385.
Cuthbert, Anthony, i. 255.
Cutler, Rev. Stephen, ii. 334.

Dakota, Universalism in, ii. 368.
Damon, Rev. Norwood, ii. 333.
Davenport, Rev. John E., ii. 454.
Davies, Rev. Joshua, ii. 454.
Davis, Rev. Edwin, on Major-General Richard Gridley, i. 342.
Davis, Dr. Isaac, preaches Universalism, i. 165.
Davis, Rev. Jervis, ii. 258.
Davis, Jonathan, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Day, Rev. J. M., ii. 423.
Dean Academy, origin and career of, ii. 438; Principals of, 441.
Dean, Dr. Oliver, his gifts to Dean Academy, ii. 440; a benefactor of Tufts College, 469.
Dean, Rev. Paul, ii. 81; a Sabellian, 334; an incorporator of Nichols Academy, 413; colleague with Rev. John Murray, 161; committee on denominational school, 411; in Baltimore, Md., 380; in Charleston, S. C., 388; organizes the Second Universalist Sunday-school in America, 408. See Restorationist Controversy.
Dean, Rev. William W., ii. 423.
De Benneville, Dr. George, i. 24; his place of worship at Oley, Pa., 27.
Dedication of children, ii. 236.
Deere, Rev. George H., ii. 454.
Delaney, Rev. William, in Nova Scotia, ii. 406.
Delanoe, S., replies to Huntington, i. 505.
Delaware, Universalism in, ii. 368.
De Marsay, Count, his commentary on the Apocalypse, i. 30.
Dennis, Rev. W. F., ii. 423.

Dicker, Edward A., on Universalism in Illinois, ii. 373 *n*.
Dobson, Thomas, and his writings, ii. 69.
Dodge, Rev. C. F., ii. 454.
Dods, Rev. J. B., in Richmond, Va., ii. 400; in New Brunswick, 405.
Doederlin, testifies to the abilities of the early Universalists, i. 5.
Drew, Rev. William A., his labors and influence in Maine, ii. 378.
Drexelius, on the early spread of Universalism, i. 6.
Duché, Rev. Jacob, i. 56.
Dunkers, The, advocated Universalism, i. 35; establish a Sunday-school in 1740, 37; take action against a public avowal of Universalism, 38; present membership of, 39.
Dutchess Co., N. Y., early Universalists in, i. 433.
Dwyer, Rev. Michael, ii. 258.

Earbury, William, i. 11.
Eastern Association, organization of, in 1799, i. 515.
Eaton, Rev. Edwin A., ii. 198.
Eaton, Rev. T. C., ii. 423.
Eckley, Rev. Joseph, attacks Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, i. 87.
Eddy, Esek, one of the "Providence Universalists," i. 211.
Eddy, Rev. Richard, ii. 454.
Edmands, Rev. A. C., in California, ii. 366.
Edwards, Morgan, on Rev. Elhanan Winchester, i. 256; on Rev. Artis Seagrave, 290.
Edwards, Rev. Dr. Jonathan, writes against Chauncy, i. 92.
Egremont, Mass., Universalists in, in 1792, i. 394; 1794, 438; on adoption of creed in 1791, 348.
Eilands, Rev. Isaac, ii, 2.
Elliot, Rev. Timothy, ii. 454.
Ellis, Rev. J. H., ii. 150.
Ellis, Rev. Sumner, ii. 198.
Emmons, Rev. Joshua, ii. 230.
Episcopalians, discussions in their convention on omitting the creeds, i. 62; put Universalism in the "Proposed Prayer Book," 60; Universalism among, 43.
Erigena, John Scotus, defends Universalism, i. 7.
Erskine, Christopher, case of, ii. 18–36.
Essex Sunday School Union, ii. 384.
Evans, Rev. David, i. 259; an able Rellyan, 276; Mr. Murray's estimate of, 260; visits the Western Convention, 437; writes circular letter for the Convention in 1795, 455.

Farewell, Rev. William, i. 353.
Farrington, Rev. Silas, ii. 454.
Fay, Rev. Addison G., ii. 198.
Ferriss, Rev. Edwin, i. 539; a disciple of Caleb Rich, 540; ordination of, ii. 5. See Restorationist Controversy.
Ferriss, Rev. Walter, i. 512; drafts the Winchester Profession of Belief, ii. 48, 57.
Fessenden, Rev. Thomas, i. 102.
Field, Rev. Arthur, ii. 249.
First Parish in Gloucester, excommunicates Mr. Murray's hearers, i. 175; taxes the Universalists and seizes their goods, 181; suit brought against, by Mr. Murray, 184; cost of the suit, 195.
"First Presbytery to the Eastward" attacks Rev. Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, i. 99.
Fish, Rev. William H., ii. 339.
Fisher, Rev. Ebenezer, first President of St. Lawrence Theological School, ii. 460; death of, 462; Memorial Hall erected to, 472.
Fisher, Rev. M. P., in Tennessee, ii. 399.
Fisk, Rev. Richmond, President of St. Lawrence University, ii. 471; President of Smithson College, 475.
Fisk, Rev. Theophilus, at Washington, D. C., ii. 368.
Fitz, Henry, ii. 251.

Flagg, Rev. Joshua, i. 538; committee on denominational school, ii. 411.
Flagler, Rev. John S., ii. 219.
Flanders, Rev. George T., at Washington, D. C., ii. 369.
Fletcher, Rev. N. C., ii. 256.
Florida, Universalism in, ii. 369.
Forbes, Rev. H. P., Professor in St. Lawrence Theological School, ii. 462.
Foster, Rev. Dan., i. 104.
Foster, Rev. James, ii. 17.
Foster, Rev. Joel, correspondence with Rev. Hosea Ballou, i. 520.
Foster, Rev. John, i. 536; organizes a society in New York, ii. 37.
Fowler, Rev. P. P., ii. 423.
Francis, Rev. Eben, ii. 198.
Francis, Dr. J. W., on Dr. William Pitt Smith, i. 272, *n.*; on William [Elihu] Palmer, 306.
Franklin, Benjamin, his family Universalists, i. 314; his own opinion, 314.
Freeman, Rev. Dr., letter on modification of King's Chapel liturgy, i. 450; on the timid policy of the Unitarians, 452.
Free Universal Magazine, i. 401.
Free-will and decrees, discussion on, i. 385.
Frieze, Rev. Jacob, in North Carolina, ii. 391.
Fry, Olney, preaches the first Universalist sermon in Oregon, ii. 395.
Fuller, Rev. Allen, in Georgia, ii. 370; in South Carolina, 398.
Fuller, Rev. J. P., in Missouri, ii. 386.
Fuller, Rev. S. W., ii. 423.
Future punishment, discussions of the question of, i. 348, 389, 409, 412; ii. 260–342.

Gadsden, Christopher, interested in the spread of Universalism, i. 407.
Gage, Rev. G. W., ii. 423.
Gage, Rev. Royal, ii. 245.
Gaines, Rev. A. G., President of St. Lawrence University, ii. 471.
Galaca, Rev. Charles, ii. 333.
Gallagher, Rev. Charles, ii. 256.
Gardner, Rev. A. R., first Universalist preacher located in Illinois, ii. 371; preaches the first Universalist sermon in Iowa, 375.
Gatchell, Samuel, sentenced to the pillory for his Universalism, i. 24.
Genesee Branch Association, organization of, ii. 167; sessions of, 189, 199, 228, 242.
Georgia, first preaching of Universalism in, ii. 1; progress of Universalism in, 370.
Gerhard, Ludwig, i. 10.
Gibbs, Rev. B. F., ii. 423.
Gibbs, Rev. Philip, ii. 2.
Gieseler, on the early spread of Universalism, i. 6.
Gilson, Rev. David, ii. 177.
Gleason, Benjamin, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Gloucester, Mass., Articles of Association of the Independent Church in, i. 175; Charter of Compact adopted by the Universalists of, 207; condition of Universalism in, in 1792, 393; early Universalists in, 141; incorporation of the Universalist church in, 344; Mr. Murray makes it his home, 141; the committee of safety of, warn Mr. Murray to leave town, 149; the First Parish in, taxes the Universalists, 181; the oldest Sunday-school in America, in, ii. 408; Universalists in, agree to indemnify Mr. Murray in a suit *vs.* the First Parish, i. 184; Universalists in, excommunicated from the First Parish Church, 175; Universalist meeting-house in, 179.
Gloucester Conference, organization and work of, ii. 132.
Glover, Rev. Solomon, i. 543.
Gnostics, Universalism of the, i 4.
Goddard, Mrs. Mary T., a benefactress of Tufts College, ii. 469.
Goddard, Thomas A., a benefactor of Tufts College, ii. 469.
Goddard Seminary, origin and career of, ii. 441; Principals of, 443.

Goodenough, Rev. Simon, ii. 435.
Goodrich, Rev. Massena, Professor at St. Lawrence Theological School, ii. 461.
Goodrich, Rev. Moses, ii. 454.
Goodrich, Rev. J. T., ii. 423.
Gorton, Samuel, i. 13.
Gorton, Rev. William, attacks Rev. Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, i. 87.
"Gospel Visitant, The," ii. 134, 261.
Gowdy, Rev. James, ii. 158.
Graham, Rev. Lemuel, ii. 393.
Grammar, Rev. Joseph, ii. 256.
Green, Rev. Archelaus, ii. 166, 226.
Green, Rev. W. J., in Florida, ii. 369.
Green Mountain Perkins Academy, origin and career of, ii. 434; Principals of, 435.
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, certifies to Mr. Murray's standing in the Army, i. 150.
Greenwood Seminary, ii. 445.
Grosh, Rev. Aaron B., active in establishing a denominational school, ii. 416, 418; in Pennsylvania, 396.
Gridley, Gen. Richard, i. 339; becomes a Universalist, 340; bigotry against him, 341; his labors in the Revolution, 340; his monument, 342, *n.*
Griswold, Rev. W. H., ii. 423.
Gurley, Rev. John A., and the Dunkers, i. 40.
Guy, Francis, advocates Universalism in Baltimore, ii. 380.

Hagadorn, Rev. William, in Virginia, ii. 400.
Hale, Rev. E. E., notice of Rev. George Richards, i. 292.
Hale, J. W., erects a building, and donates it to Clinton Liberal Institute, ii. 419.
Hale, Moses, letter to Rev. H. Ballou, i. 508.
Hale, Rev. William, M. D., in Tennessee, ii. 399.
Halifax, N. S., Universalism in, ii. 406.
Hall, Daniel, i. 261.
Ham, John, disowned by the Dunkers for preaching no future punishment, i. 38.
Hamilton, N. Y., society organized in, ii. 77; revival of Universalism in, 199–217.
Hanson, Rev. J. W., President of Smithson College, ii. 475.
Hardwick, Mass., Universalism in, in 1792, i. 418.
Harmon, Rev. George M., Professor in Tufts Divinity School, ii. 463.
Harriman, Rev. John, ii. 256.
Harris, Rev. L., in Wisconsin, ii. 402.
Harsen, Cornelius, his gift to the New York Convention, ii. 391.
Harter, Rev. J. H., ii. 454.
Hartford County, Md., organization of Universalists in, i. 399.
Hartwick, N. Y., society organized in, ii, 39, 76.
Haskins, E. W., donates land to Clinton Liberal Institute, ii. 421.
Hastings, Rev. George, ii. 256.
Hawkins, Rev. William, i. 348.
Haynes, Rev. Lemuel, his sermon against Universalism, ii. 110.
Hayward, Rev. W. H., preaches first Universalist sermon in Colorado, ii. 367.
Hazard, Ebenezer, i. 96.
Henderson, N. Y., rise of Universalism in, ii. 237.
Hermon, Me., High School in, ii. 446.
Herring, Silas C., a benefactor of St. Lawrence University, ii. 472.
Hervey, Rev. A. B., ii. 461.
Hicks, Zachariah, committee on denominational school, ii. 411.
Hilliard, Rev. Samuel, ii. 18.
Hiscock, Rev. J. W., ii. 423.
Hitchings, Rev. Amos, in New Brunswick, ii. 405.
Hodsdon, Rev. E. A., ii. 385.
Hodsdon, Rev. Frederick A., ii. 256.
Hopkins, Rev. Samuel, attacks Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, i. 87.
Houston, William, a lay preacher to

the "Scotch Universalists" in Canada, ii. 404.
Howe, Rev. Perley, i. 104.
Huber, Samuel, teaches Universalism, i. 8.
Hudson, Rev. Charles, ii. 246. See Restorationist Controversy.
Huntington, Rev. Dr. Joseph, i. 97; his "Calvinism Improved," i. 98, 477.
Huntington, William, attacks Universalism, i. 505.
Huntoon, Daniel T. V., on Gen. Richard Gridley, i. 342, *n.*
Hussey, Rev. Charles S., ii. 256.
Hymn-Books, Relly's, republished by Mr. Murray, i. 163; Elhanan Winchester's, 256; Philadelphia Convention's, 351; Boston, 382; Edward Mitchell's, 468.

Idaho, Universalism in, ii. 371.
Illinois, Universalism in, ii. 370.
Imlay, William Eugene, i. 334; appointed by the Philadelphia Convention in 1790, to draft an Address to President Washington, 297.
Indiana, Universalism in, ii. 373.
Iowa, Universalism in, ii. 375.
Irish, Rev. Thomas, in Michigan, ii. 385.
Israel, Israel, i. 444.

Jacobs, Rev. Peter, ii. 195.
Jacobs, Rev. U. H., ii. 177.
Jaffrey, N. H., unites with Richmond, N. H., and Warwick, Mass., in forming a general society, i. 171.
Jefferson Liberal Institute, ii. 437; Principals of, 438.
Jefferson, Thomas, hears Rev. John Murray preach, i. 512; not a deist, ii. 3.
Jenkins, Rev. Samuel, ii. 423.
Jenks, Rev. E. M., ii. 454.
John, Rev. R. N., acting President of Smithson College, ii. 475.
Johnson, Rev. B. W., ii. 333.
Johnson, Rev. Nathan B., ii. 165; in Ohio, 393.
Johnson, Rev. Stephen, writes against Rev. Dr. Chauncy, i. 91.
Jones, Rev. H. G., his account of the dealings of the Baptist Church with Rev. Elhanan Winchester, i. 239; on the Universalist defection among the Baptists, 309.
Jones, Rev. R., in Ohio, ii. 393.
Jones, Rev. Seth, ii. 157.
Jones, Rev. Thomas, i. 458; at the funeral of Rev. John Murray, ii. 180; committee on denominational school, 411; an incorporator of Nichols Academy, 413.
Jones, William D., moderator of an Ohio Convention in 1826, ii. 394.
Justice, satisfaction of, i. 417.

Kansas, Universalism in, ii. 375.
Kendall, Rev. Paul R., President of Lombard University, ii. 465; President of Smithson College, 475.
Kendrick, Rev. Ariel, against Universalism, i. 505.
Kentucky, early Universalists in, i. 409; progress of Universalism in, ii. 376.
Kentucky Liberal Institute, ii. 446.
Kettell, John, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Kibbe, Rev. J. S., ii. 423.
Kidwell, Rev. Jonathan, agent for the Western Union Seminary, ii. 424; on editor of "The Lamp of Liberty," i. 418; in Indiana and Ohio, ii. 373. 394.
Killam, Rev. Robert L., ii. 246.
King, Rev. T. Starr, ii. 198.
Kingsbury, Col. Joseph, i. 421, 426; his account of Rev. Noah Murray, 258.
Kingsbury, Rev. Myra, i. 427.
Kingsley, Rev. Rufus, ii. 223.
Kinney, Rev. Aaron, in Illinois, ii. 371.
Kinney, Joseph, Esq., i. 427; challenges Rev. Noah Murray and is converted, 420.
Kinsley, Rev. W. H., ii. 333.
Kinsman, Rev. Asa, ii. 253.

Kirby Empson, an elder in the New Hanover Church, i. 399.
Knapp, Rev. Liscomb, ii. 127; in Michigan, 385.
Kneeland, Rev. Abner, ii. 41; in North Carolina, 391; in Pennsylvania, 396.
Knight, Rev. George T., Professor in Tufts Divinity School, ii. 463.

Lamb, Dr. Dan, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
"Lamp of Liberty, The," i. 417.
Lamson, Rev. D. R., ii. 334.
Landers, Rev. S. P., ii. 423.
Lane, Deacon Oliver W., conducts the installation service of Mr. Murray at Boston, i. 420; opens the first Sunday-school in Boston, ii. 407.
Lathe, Rev. Zephaniah, i. 258.
Lathrop, Rev. Dr. John, i. 342.
Law, William, i. 11.
Lawrence, Robert, ii. 4.
Lead, Jane, i. 11.
Lebanon Liberal Institute, origin and career of, ii. 432.
Lee, Rev. John C., Professor in Theological Department of Lombard University, ii. 464.
Lee, Rev. John S., ii. 198; acting President of St. Lawrence University, 470; Professor at Canton, 460; theological students with, 435. See also 432–5.
Le Fevre, Rev. Clement F., in Wisconsin, ii. 403.
Legal difficulties in Massachusetts, i. 181; in New Jersey, 395; in Maine, ii. 378; in New Hampshire, 19; in Vermont, 44.
Leonard, Rev. Charles H., ii. 454; institutes Children's Sunday in Chelsea, Mass., 408; Professor in Tufts Divinity School, 463.
Leonard, Rev. Ezra, ii. 165.
Leonard, Rev. M. R., ii. 460, 461.
Lester, Rev. Ebenezer, ii. 170.
Lincoln, Rev. Varnum, on Rev. Charles Hudson, ii. 247.
Lloyd, Rev. H. S., ii. 423.
Locke, Rev. J. J., ii. 198.
Lollards, The, Universalists, i. 7.
Lombard, Benjamin, his gifts to Lombard University, ii. 465.
Lombard University, ii. 464.
Longenecker, Rev. Samuel, in Pennsylvania, ii. 396.
Longley, Rev. A. H., in Ohio, ii. 394.
Louisiana, Universalism in, ii. 376.
Loveland, Rev. Samuel C., ii. 164. See Restorationist Controversy.
Low, Rev. William, in Tennessee, ii. 399.
Lowe, Rev. William, ii. 231.
Lynch, Rev. Elijah, ii. 86, 398.

Madison Liberal Institute, ii. 431.
Maine, progress of Universalism in, ii. 377; State Convention declares itself independent of the General Convention, 346; consents to reorganization of the latter, provided its powers are advisory only, 346.
Manford, Rev. Erasmus, ii. 256; preaches the first Universalist sermon in Kansas, 375.
Manley, Rev. W. E., ii. 423.
Mann, Rev. Edmund, in Indiana, ii. 374.
Mann, Rev. Jacob, i. 183.
Marietta, Ohio, organization of society in, in 1816, ii. 190.
Marsh, Rev. Charles R., in Pennsylvania, ii. 396.
Marshall, Christopher, i. 406, 408.
Marshall, John P., at Lebanon Liberal Institute, ii. 432; Professor and Dean at Tufts College, 468.
Marston, Rev. Moses, ii. 435.
Maryland, Universalism in, ii. 380.
"Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists," organization of, ii. 330. See Restorationist Controversy.
Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, ii. 382.
Massachusetts Legislature indemni-

fies Mr. Murray from penalties for illegal marriages, i. 283.
Massachusetts Sunday-School Association, ii. 382.
Massachusetts, The Woman's Universalist Missionary Society of, ii. 384.
Massachusetts, Universalism in, ii. 381.
Mather, Rev. Samuel, attacks Rev. Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, i. 87.
Maxcy, Rev. Jonathan, sermon on death of Rev. Dr. Manning, i. 354.
Maximus, the Greek Confessor, taught Universalism, i. 7.
Mayhew, Rev. Dr. Jonathan, i 93.
Maynard, Rev. Lyman. See Restorationist Controversy.
Mayo, Rev. Amory D., ii. 198.
McAllisterstown, Pa., debate on Universalism in 1792, i. 398.
McCollester, Rev. S. H., President of Buchtel College, ii. 474.
McLean, Rev. Duncan, i. 289; his labors and compensation in 1796, 460.
McMaster, Rev. J. W., ii. 454.
McMorris, Rev. S. J., in Alabama, ii. 365; in Mississippi, 386.
McNeil, Rev. William, ii. 454.
Mead, Rev. Samuel, i. 104; fellowshipped, 536.
Melrose Seminary, origin and career of, ii. 433; Principals of, 434.
"Men of Understanding," believers in Universalism, i. 7.
Messenger, Rev. George, ii. 423.
Michigan, Universalism in, ii. 384.
Middlesex Sunday-School Union, ii. 383.
Miles, Rev. Stephen, ii. 158.
Milford, Mass., Universalists of, adopt Charter of Compact, i. 209; condition of, in 1792, 394.
Miller, Rev. H. F., financial secretary and agent of Buchtel College, ii. 472; financial agent of Smithson College, 474.
Miller, Mrs. Sarah, erects a church edifice at Minden, La., ii. 377.
Miner, Rev. A. A., on committee of Ministers' Meeting, ii. 339; President of Tufts College, 468.
Ministerial characteristics, ii. 224.
Minnesota, Universalism in, ii. 385.
Mississippi, Universalism in, ii. 386.
Mississippi Valley Convention, organization of, ii. 363.
Missouri, Universalism in, ii. 386.
Mitchell, Rev. Edward, i. 472; a Sabellian, ii. 334; colleague with Rev. John Murray, 132; on Universalist Society in New York, 464; in Richmond, Va., ii. 400.
Mitchell, Revs. John and Thomas, ii. 2.
Mitchell Seminary, origin and career of, ii. 443; Principals of, 444.
Montgomery, Rev. G. W., on Rev. Stephen Miles, ii. 158.
Moor, Rev. C. R., ii. 454; on committee of Ministers' Meeting, 339.
Moore, Findley, clerk of an Ohio Convention in 1826, ii. 394.
Moore, Major James, i. 400; on future punishment, 349, 389.
Moravians, The, advocates of Universalism among, i. 42.
Morrison, Rev. Abial, in Oregon, ii. 395.
Morse, Rev. Horace W., ii. 256.
Morse, Rev. Pitt, ii. 242; in Michigan, 385.
Morse, Rev. William, ii. 334.
Morton, Rev. Calvin, ii. 161.
Mount Caesar Seminary, origin and career of, ii. 432.
Müller, Peter, i. 36.
Murray, Rev. John, a Methodist class-leader and preacher, i. 106; an extemporizer, ii. 183; appointed by the Philadelphia Convention in 1790, to draft an address to President Washington, i. 297; at the Association at Oxford, 206; called himself a Trinitarian, but was really a Sabellian, 308; commences suit against the First Parish in Gloucester, 182; conceals his views in his first sermons in America, 142; also while visiting England, 279; death of his first wife, 120;

declares that Rev. John Tyler is the only minister in sympathy with his views, 276; difficulty in forming a church in Boston, 307; enters the army as chaplain, 147; estimation in which he was held by Mr. Relly, 153; finds many errors among Universalists in Connecticut, 337; first knowledge of Universalism, 106; first sermon in America, 133; first visit to Gloucester, 141; gains his suit against the First Parish in Gloucester, 194; gives half his time to the Boston Society, 268; hears Mr. Relly preach, and becomes a Universalist, 115; his early religious training, 105; his voyage to America, 123; his theology, 151; his death and burial in 1815, ii. 179; reinterment in 1837, 182; his distinction between salvation and redemption, i. 159; his standing in the army, 150; his second marriage, 284, *n.*; his opinion of Rev. E. Winchester's preaching, 253; his admiration of the abilities of Rev. David Evans, 260; his opinion of Rev. George Richards, 290; his preaching in Connecticut, in 1790, 335; his pamphlet on forming a Christian church, and on diverse views among Universalists, 359; his views of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, 302, 363; his pamphlet on "Universalism Vindicated," 481; his exposition of 1 Cor. xv. 28, 516; his intimacy with political characters in 1799, 511; his itinerant labors, 140, 196, 431; is excommunicated from the Tabernacle, 119; interview with Thomas Potter, 123; is charged by Dr. Stiles with denying his belief in Universalism, 146; is brought before the Committee of Safety of Gloucester, and warned to leave town, 150; is prosecuted for illegal marriages, 278; is re-ordained, 285; is importuned to move to Philadelphia, 288, 314; interviews with Dr. Rush, 315, 329; justifies his concealment of his sentiments, 144; last visit to Good Luck, and sermon there, 197; letter to Gamaliel Reynolds, 261; letter to Rev. Robert Redding on Rev. Mr. Maxcy's sermon, 354; letter to the same on secret Universalism in Boston, 500; letter to Rev. H. Ballou, 506; makes the acquaintance of Rev. Elhanan Winchester, 251; manner of his preaching, ii. 183; moves to Boston, i. 419; moderator of N. E. Convention in 1795, 444; notices Rev. Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, 90; obtains relief for the suffering poor in Gloucester, 148; on inviting all Christians to the Convention in Philadelphia, 325; on statistics of Universalism in 1791, 346; on salary and cost of living in 1796, 459; preaches in New York, 137; publishes a pamphlet on "Apostolick Preaching," 140; publishes an edition of Relly's Hymns, 163; petitions to the Massachusetts Legislature for relief, 280; preaches at "Bachelor's Hall," 329; reads and criticises a review of "Relly's Union," 112; replies to Rev. Dr. Stiles and to "An Answer to an Appeal," 109; relief granted by the Legislature, 283; returns to America, 284; secret of his adherents in Gloucester, 195; suggests a yearly meeting in association, 196; stricken with paralysis, obtains a colleague, ii. 132; tribute to Noah Parker, i. 275; tribute to Thomas Potter, 201; urged to reside in New York, i. 270, ii. 2; visits Philadelphia and New York, i. 270; visits England, 278; visits President Washington and Vice-President Adams, 332.

Murray, Mrs. Judith, i. 284, *n.*; ii. 185; her letter from Philadelphia, i. 314; makes a statement of her husband's views, 159; opposes Rev. Hosea Ballou's views, 508; prepares her husband's sermons and letters for publication, ii. 185;

publishes poetry and prose in literary magazines, 186; publishes "The Gleaner," 186; moves to Natchez, Miss., on the death of her husband, and dies there, 186; writes for the stage, 187; "The Gleaner," requested for publication in England, 188.
Murray, Rev. Noah, i. 258, 268, 338, 420; is challenged to a discussion by Rev. Moses Park, 420; settles in Philadelphia, ii. 113.
"Murray Centenary Fund," proposed, ii. 353; secured, 360.
Murray Institute, origin and career of, ii. 431.
Myers, Rev. Jacob, in Pennsylvania, ii. 396.

Nebraska, Universalism in, ii. 387.
Newell, Rev. M. B., ii. 223.
New Brunswick, Universalism in, ii. 405.
New Hampshire, Universalists in, in 1792, i. 394; progress of Universalism in, ii. 387.
New Hanover, N. J., Universalist church in, i. 399; condition of, in 1795, 447; Free Religious Inquiring Society in, 402.
New Hartford, N. Y., meeting-house in, ii. 178.
New Jersey, Universalism in. ii. 387.
New York City, Universalists of, urge Mr. Murray to reside there in 1787, i. 270; organization of, in 1792, 395; in 1802, ii. 37.
New York State Convention, appoints a committee on literary institution, ii. 416; declares itself independent of the General Convention, 346; peculiarity of the first, 389.
New York Sunday-school Association and Convention. ii. 391.
New York State, Universalism in, in 1792, i. 394; in 1802, ii. 38; organization of first society in, west of the city, 39; prosperity of, in 1818, 223; progress of, 388; Rev. S. R. Smith's Historical Sketches of, 160.
New York Universalist Education Society, ii. 456.
Nichols, Amasa, projects an academy, ii. 412; loses interest in, 415.
Nichols Academy, origin and career of, ii. 411.
North Carolina, Universalism in, ii. 391.
Northern Association, organization of, ii. 64.
Northwestern Conference, organization and work of, ii. 361.
Nova Scotia, Universalism in, ii. 406.
Norwood, Rev. Abraham, ii. 256.
Noyes, Rev., Gilman, ii. 256.

Ohio, preaching of Universalism in, in 1814, ii. 162, 168; first society in, organized in 1816, 190; progress of cause in, 392; Sunday-school Convention and Ministerial Association in, 395.
Ohio City Institute, origin and career of, ii. 429.
Ontario County, N. Y., early organization of Universalists in, ii. 145; fellowshipped by the Western Association, 156.
Ordination, importance of establishing the fact of, in Vermont, ii. 44.
Oregon, Universalism in, ii. 395.
Orleans Liberal Institute, ii. 436; Principals of, 437.
Oxford, Mass., Dr. Isaac Davis teaches Universalism in, i. 166; organization of Universalists in, 204; association formed in, 205; charter of compact adopted, 207; General Convention formed in, in 1793, 418; state of Universalism in, in 1792, 394.

Packard, Rev. Elisha, ii. 235.
Packard, Sylvanus, a benefactor of Tufts College, ii. 469.
Paine, Rev. Ebenezer, i. 542.
Palmer, Rev. Edward, ii. 334.
Palmer, Elihu, denied fellowship by the Universalists, i. 304; preaches

for the "Universal Society," of deists, 305; becomes a deist, 306.
Palmer, Rev. John E., ii. 240; on Rev. William Farewell, i. 353, *n.*
Park, Rev. Moses, challenges Rev. Noah Murray to a discussion and is converted, i. 420; his character and ministry, 421.
Parker, Rev. Daniel, ii. 168, 334, 393.
Parker, Isaac A., A. M., Professor in Lombard University, ii. 464.
Parker, Rev. J. N., in Nebraska, ii. 387.
Parker, Rev. James, ii. 146.
Parker, Noah, becomes a preacher, i. 164; death of, 273; Mr. Murray's tribute to, 275.
Parsons, Rev. James, in North Carolina, ii. 392.
Partridge, Rev. Emmons, ii. 333.
Partridge, Rev. R., ii. 454.
Patriot, Indiana, School and Collegiate Institute, ii. 445.
Pattee, Rev. W. M., ii. 461.
Pearce, Capt. Joseph, i. 515.
Peck, Rev. Alfred, ii. 235.
Peck, Rev. B. F., ii. 454.
Penn, William, among the Mennonites in Holland, i. 34.
Pennsylvania, Universalism in, ii. 396; Missionary, Educational and Tract Associations in, 396.
Person, Rev. C. G., ii. 6.
Peters, Rev. Bernard, ii. 454.
Peters, Rev. Samuel, i. 82.
Petersen, John William, i. 8; his investments with a view of emigrating to America, 37.
Petersham, Mass., Universalists in, in 1792, i. 394.
Petitpierre, Ferdinand Oliver, i. 439.
Phelps, Rev. J., in California, ii. 366.
Philadelphia, organization of the Church of the Restitution in, ii. 152; the first Universalist Sunday-school in America organized in, 407.
Philadelphia Universalist Convention, first session of, in 1790, i. 296; articles of faith and plan of church government adopted by, 298; revision of articles and plan by Dr. Benjamin Rush, 303; recommendations on the instruction of children, 300; recommendation on hymn-book, 351; on the question of future punishment, 349; session of 1791, 348; 1792, 382; 1793, 399; 1794, 434; 1795, 444; 1796, 458; 1797, 481, 505; 1798, 504; 1799, 515; 1801, ii. 3; 1802, 14; 1803, 39; 1805, 72; 1806, 105; 1809, its last session, 121; causes of its dissolution, 121.
Philadelphia Universalists, organize in 1784 as "Universal Baptists," i. 255; issue a call for a Convention, 294; build a new house of worship, 439; condition of, in 1795, 446; 1796, 458.
Philbrook, Rev. Hiram A., ii. 435.
Philleo, Rev. P., ii. 454.
Pickering, Rev. David, ii. 127. See Restorationist Controversy.
Pierce, Rev. Joseph D., ii. 198.
Pike Run, Penn., letter to Universalists in, i. 389; Western Convention organized at, 437.
Pillsbury, Rev. Edmund, i. 536.
Pitkin, Rev. J. B., in Richmond, Va., ii. 401.
Pitman, Rev. Isaac A., ii. 334.
Pitts, Rev. Lewis, ii. 167.
Pollard, Mrs., patroness of Smithson College, ii. 474.
Pollard, Rev. Mr., i. 348.
Pope, Rev. Ira B., ii. 435.
Pope, Rev. Rufus K., ii. 256.
Potter, Thomas, first interview with Rev. John Murray, i. 123; builds a meeting-house, 126; insists that Mr. Murray must preach, 127; bequeaths his meeting-house to Mr. Murray, 197; fraudulent settlement of the estate of, and the meeting-house sold, 202; poverty and death of his widow, 203; Mr. Murray's tribute to, 201; memorial church to, ii. 388.
Powers, Rev. J. T., ii. 454.

Preachers in fellowship in 1801, ii. 5; in 1813, 162.
Presbyterian Assembly and Synod take action against Universalism, i. 101.
Priest, Rev. Asa, ii. 257.
Priestley, Rev. Dr. Joseph, assists the Universalists in building their house of worship, i. 439; avows his belief in Universalism, 473.
"Proposed Prayer Book," Universalism of the, i. 57.
Providence Association, organization of, ii. 326. See Restorationist Controversy.
"Providence Universalists, The," i. 210.
Pullman, Rev. J. M., ii. 460, 461.
Putnam, Rev. J. W., ii. 454.

Queal, Rev. William, ii. 423; preaches the first Universalist sermon in Chicago, 371.

Ramsey, Andrew Michael, i. 238, *n.*
Ramsey, Rev. Samuel, ii. 454.
Randall, Miss, builds a meeting-house at Randallstown, Md., ii. 381.
Rapp, George, i. 32.
Rappists, establishment of the, in America, i. 32.
Raynold, Abbot of St. Martin's, a Universalist, i. 7.
Reading Academy, ii. 445.
Relly, Rev. James, i. 11; preaches a sermon which converts John Murray, 115; befriends Mr. Murray and urges him to preach, 121; a copy of his "Union" in Gloucester, 141; his theology, 151; his estimate of Rev. John Murray, 153; his reply to Richard Coppin, 381.
Relly Hymn-book, republished by Mr. Murray, i. 163.
Restorationist, no church organization so named in America until 1823, ii. 344.
Restorationist Controversy, The, ii. 260–342; began in 1817, 261; chiefly confined to New England, 314, 335; correspondence between Revs. H. Ballou and E. Turner, in "The Gospel Visitant," 261; controversy between Rev. H. Ballou and the editor of "The Boston Kaleidoscope," 269; Mr. Ballou on the "Declaration and Appeal," 292; on the proposed basis of settlement, 307; on Rev. J. Wood's proposals, 276; denies influencing the junior editors to fall from agreement of settlement, 310; denies Mr. Turner's charge of seeking harsh terms of settlement, 318; proposes the terms which were accepted, 316; personal difficulties with Rev. Paul Dean settled, 312; reopened and brought before the General Convention, 314; withdraws from editorial charge of "The Universalist Magazine," and is succeeded by Mr. — Foster, who opens the paper to the controversy, 273; letters admitted from Revs. Jacob Wood, John Brooks, Paul Dean, Edward Turner, H. Ballou, Barzillai Streeter, and Thomas Whittemore, and Messrs. E. B. Kenrick, — Rae, W. D——, and Dr. Robert Capen, 273, 274, 278. Revs. H. Ballou, H. Ballou, 2d, and T. Whittemore become editors of "The Universalist Magazine," 276. Proposition of Rev. Jacob Wood on the manner of discussing the controverted question, 274; the editors on Mr. Wood's proposal, 276; he makes a new proposition, 279; the editors reply, 280. Mr. Wood's great activity in the controversy, 262, 263, 274; on the personal character of the controversy, 310; his pamphlet, 267; drafts a "Declaration and Appeal," 282; reply of editors of the "Magazine" thereto, written by Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, 293; solicits and publishes opinions of preachers

in 1817, 267. Rev. Edward Turner's proposed and accepted basis of settlement, 307; letter to Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, concerning, 308; reasons why it was not carried into effect, 309; accuses Rev. H. Ballou of defeating it, 307; charges Mr. Ballou with exacting severe terms of settlement, 317. Rev. Paul Dean withdraws from the fellowship of the General Convention, 314; is received into fellowship of the Southern Association, at his request, 318; Rev. T. Whittemore's opposition to his being re-fellowshipped, 319; scene at the Southern Association on his being re-fellowshipped, 319; leads the secession from the denomination, 330. Rev. S. C. Loveland on the "Appeal," 287; on the action of the "Southern Association"; his approval of the "Declaration," 313; is abused by a portion of the Universalist press, 338. Rev. Thomas Whittemore's activity in the controversy, 336; opposes the re-fellowshipping of Rev. Paul Dean, 319; reviews Rev. Adin Ballou's sermon, 322; reply to the article in the "Independent Messenger," 332; solicits and publishes the opinions of the preachers, in 1830, 326. Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, writes reply to the "Declaration and Appeal," 293; Rev. Charles Hudson publishes books and pamphlets on the controversy, 321; Rev. L. Maynard's pamphlet, 322. Rev. David Pickering, active in organizing the Providence Association, 326; withdraws from fellowship of the General Convention, 327. Rev. Adin Ballou an active controversialist, 335; his sermon on the worth of the soul, 322; publishes and edits the "Independent Messenger," 331; on the causes of the suspension and extinction of the "Restorationist Association," 336; Rev. E. Ferriss introduces the Restorationist Controversy in the Western Association, withdraws from fellowship, and returns thereto, 314; Southern Association takes action on the "Declaration and Appeal," 311; measures of reconciliation approved by, 316; takes unwarranted action on the "Providence Association," 327; Providence Association, organization of, 326; ministers fellowshipped by, 332, 333; sessions of, 333; resolution of the General Convention on membership in antagonistic associations, 328; its effect on the Restorationists, 330; "Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists," organizaton of, 330; sessions of, 333; accessions to the ministry through, 333; suspension and extinction of, 336; number of Restorationist preachers identified or sympathizing with, 334; number which remained in fellowship with the General Convention, 334; statement of Universalist preachers of Boston in 1878, the present opinion of Universalists, 340.

Reuz, [Wright or Rights], Rev. Matthew, i. 43.

Rexford, Rev. E. L., President of Buchtel College, ii. 474.

Reynolds, Gamaliel, i. 261.

Rhode Island, Universalists in, in 1792, i. 394; progress and organization of Universalism in, ii. 397; Tract and Missionary Societies in, 397.

Rich, Rev. Caleb, autobiography of, i. 168; at the association at Oxford, 206; becomes a Universalist preacher, 171; his theology, 172, 338; his ordination, 172; his views embraced by Rev. Hosea Ballou, ii. 65, 87; letter from, on the articles of faith, i. 348.

Richards, Rev. George, i. 290; his literary abilities, 291; letter on H. Ballou's Notes on the Parables, ii. 67; on the Treatise on Atonement, 103; ordination of, i. 292; on Mr.

Murray's leaving Cape Ann, 419; on compensation of ministers, 460; organizes a new church in Philadelphia, ii. 152; teaches school, i. 461.
Richardson, Samuel, i. 11.
Richmond, N. H., unites with Jaffrey, N. H., and Warwick, Mass., in forming a general society, i. 171.
Rider, Isaiah, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Roberts, Rev. H., in Canada, ii. 404.
Roberts, Rev. O., ii. 423.
Rogers, Rev. Chandler, ii. 120; ordained in Ohio, 393.
Rogers, Rev. George, in Wheeling, West Va., ii. 401.
Rome, N. Y., republication of Mr. Murray's pamphlet in, in 1799, i. 481.
Root, Rev. Isaac, ii. 16.
Ropes, Charles A., his timely aid to the St. Lawrence Theological School, ii. 461.
Rounseville, Rev. William, on first Universalist organization in Illinois, ii. 371.
Rush, Benjamin, M. D., an avowed Universalist, i. 315, 322; a founder of the Sunday-school Society in Philadelphia, ii. 407; his learning and position, i. 316; interviews with Mr. Murray, 329; letters to Rev. E. Winchester, 323; temperance writings and efforts, 317; revises the articles of faith and plan of church government for the Philadelphia Convention, 303; seeks to unite all Christians in one Convention, 324.
Russell, Benjamin, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Russell, Rev. Philemon R., ii. 330.
Ryder, Rev. W. H., ii. 423.

Sadler, Rev. Levi, ii. 164.
Safford, Rev. O. F., on committee of Minister's Meeting, ii. 339.
Salvation and Restoration, Sir George Stonehouse's distinction between, i. 12.
Samson, Rev. Hollis, ii. 252.
Sargeant, Epes, author of "An Appeal to the Public," i. 187.
Sarjent, Rev. Abel, i. 384, 417; combats the doctrines of future punishment, vicarious suffering, and satisfaction of justice, 412, 414, 416; his labors and compensation, 460; publishes "Questions to Teachers in Israel," 396; publishes "The Free Universal Magazine," 401; proposals for publishing the second volume, 417.
Sawyer, Rev. Thomas J., on committee of Minister's Meeting, ii. 339; his plans for denominational organization, 348; on the activity of Rev. S. R. Smith, as agent of Clinton Liberal Institute, 420; his theological classes at Clinton, N. Y., 453; is invited to take charge of the theological school at Canton, N. Y., 460; Professor in Tufts Divinity School, 462; first President of Trustees of Tufts College, 467; first President of Trustees of St. Lawrence University, 470.
Say, Thomas, i. 33.
Sayward, Rev. James H., ii. 334.
School at Melrose, Mass., ii. 445.
"Science of Sanctity, The," by Rev. Thomas Fessenden, i. 102.
Scott, Mrs. Julia H., i. 427.
Seagrave, Rev. Artis, i. 289; clerk of the Philadelphia Convention in 1790, 296; on free-will and decrees, 386.
Sergent, Abel M., and "The Lamp of Liberty," i. 418; in Ohio, 393.
Sewall, Jonathan M., i. 273; his poetic gifts, 274.
Sharon Academy, ii. 445.
Sharon, Conn., Universalism in, in 1794, i. 438.
Shaw, Rev. Dan., ii. 126.
Shecut, Rev. J. L. E. W., in South Carolina, ii. 398.

Shehane, Rev. C. F. R., in Tennessee, ii. 399.
Shepard, Rev. Samuel, attacks Universalism, i. 506.
Sherman, Rev. Jenkins, ii. 150.
Shiloh, N. J., Universalist church in, i. 351; condition of, in 1795, 446.
Shrigley, Rev. James, describes the De Benneville meeting-house in Oley, Pa., i. 27; at Wilmington, Del., ii. 368; at Washington, D. C., 369.
Sibylline oracles, Universalism taught in the, i. 4.
Siegvolck, Paul, [George Klein Nicolai], i. 9; his "Everlasting Gospel," published in Germantown, Pa., 28; influence of his book on Rev. Elhanan Winchester, 219–29.
Skinner, Rev. Charles A., ii. 454.
Skinner, Rev. Dolphus, on necessity for a denominational school, ii. 416.
Skinner, Rev. Joseph O., ii. 256.
Skinner, Rev. Otis A., in Baltimore, ii. 381; agent for Tufts College, 466; suggests a Theological Department in Lombard University, 463; President of Lombard University, 465.
Skinner, Rev. Warren, on the "Coming of Christ," ii. 132.
Smalley, Rev. John, publishes sermons against Universalism, i. 268.
Smith, Rev. Elias, ii. 13, 228.
Smith, Rev. Matthew H., ii. 198.
Smith, Rev. Michael, in Georgia, ii. 370.
Smith, Rev. Nathaniel, ii. 126.
Smith, Rev. Samuel, ii. 8.
Smith, Rev. Stephen R., ii. 159; active in establishing Clinton Liberal Institute, 416, 419; his Historical Sketches of Universalism in New York, 160.
Smith, Rev. T. J., ii. 423.
Smith, Rev. Dr. William, i. 57.
Smith, Dr. William Pitt, publishes "The Universalist," i. 271; pupil of Dr. Young, 428.
Smithson College, ii. 474.
Smithson, Joshua, patron of Smithson College, ii. 474.
Snell, Rev. Nelson, ii. 454.
Solomon, Bishop of Bassorah, a Universalist, i. 7.
Soule, Rev. H. B., ii. 423.
South Carolina, Universalism in, i. 38; ii. 86, 398.
Southern Association, organization of, ii. 190. See Restorationist Controversy.
Southern Convention, organization of, ii. 361.
Southern General Convention, organization of, ii. 361.
Southern Liberal Institute, ii. 445.
Spear, Rev. Charles, ii. 198.
Spear, Rev. John M., ii. 198.
Spencer, Rev. Lucius A., ii. 435.
Springfield select school, ii. 445.
Spurr, John, an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Stacy, Rev. George W., ii. 333.
Stacy, Rev. Nathaniel, ii. 40.
St. Clair, Rev. Alanson, ii. 256, 334.
St. John, Rev. Daniel, in Ohio, ii. 394.
St. Lawrence University, ii. 469.
Standish, John V. N., Professor in Lombard University, ii. 464.
Stearns, Rev. A., in Ohio, ii. 393.
Stebbins, Joseph, treasurer and patron of Clinton Liberal Institute, ii. 421.
Stephens, Rev. Joseph, i. 434; publishes "The Great Workship," 435.
Stiles, Rev. Dr. Ezra, charges Mr. Murray with denying his belief in Universalism, i. 146; letter against Mr. Murray, 188.
Stiles, Rev. Mark, ii. 258.
Stillman, Rev. Dr. Samuel, i. 239.
Stone, Rev. E. M., ii. 333.
Stonehouse, Sir George, i. 12, 229 *n.*
Streeter, Rev. Adams, i. 166; at the Association in Oxford, 206.
Streeter, Rev. Russell, ii. 130; a believer in future punishment, ii. 268; describes the theology of Rev. Caleb Rich, i. 172.

Streeter, Rev. Sebastian, ii. 83; committee on denominational school, 412.
Streeter, Rev. Squire, ii. 151.
Streeter, Rev. Zebulon, i. 352, 456; moderator of the New England Convention, 1796, 456; on differences in opinion, 457.
Strong, Rev. Nathan, writes against Universalism, i. 478.
Sumner, Rev. Clement, i. 257.
Sunday-schools, among Universalists, ii. 407.
Sunday-School Society in Philadelphia, Dr. Rush a founder of, ii. 407.
Sweeting, Judge, donates the site for Clinton Liberal Institute, ii. 419.

Taft, Rev. — i. 404.
Talbot, Rev. J. W., ii. 198, 256.
Taylor, Rev. John, finds Universalists in central New York., in 1802, ii. 38.
Taylor, Rev. Theodore K., ii. 256.
Temple, Rev. A. T., ii. 333.
Tennessee, Universalism in, ii. 399.
Teulon, Rev. W. F., M. D., in Halifax, N. S., ii. 406.
Texas, Universalism in, ii. 399.
Thacher, Rev. Peter, attacks Rev. Dr. Chauncy's pamphlet, i. 87.
Theological Schools, sketch of the history of, ii. 446–64; earliest effort for in 1814, 446; in 1827, 448; action of the Massachusetts Convention on, in 1840, 448; the proposed "Walnut Hill Evangelical Seminary," 449; Rev. T. J. Sawyer's school at Clinton, N. Y., 453; the educational meeting in 1847, 454; the Education Society and its work, 456; rules for the location of the proposed school, 457; proposals for locating, 458; located at Canton, N. Y., 460; opening of the school, 460; its first President and teachers, 460; its first class, 461; its struggles and success, 461; Tufts Divinity School, 462; Theological Department of Lombard University, 463.
Thomas, Rev. Abel C., allusions to, and quotations from his "Century of Universalism," i. 40, 255, 293, 310, 439; ii. 5, 37, 42, 72, 114, 152, 252; his labors in the interior of Pennsylvania, 396.
Thomas, Rev. William, ii. 6.
Thompson, Dr. Abraham R., an incorporator of Nichols Academy, ii. 413.
Thompson, Rev. James, ii. 249.
Thompson, Rev. W. E. J., M. D., ii. 435.
Thompson, Rev. Zenas, ii. 256.
Titus, Rev. Anson, writes an account of Dr. Isaac Davis, i. 166.
Todd, Rev. Lewis C., ii. 217.
Tomlinson, Rev. D. C., ii. 454.
Tomlinson, Rev. Russell, in Michigan, ii. 385.
Townsend, Rev. Kneeland, in Michigan, ii. 385; in Canada, 404.
Townsend, Shippie, an intelligent and active layman, i. 265; publishes a catechism, 432.
Trull, Rev. Elbridge, ii. 256.
Tufts, Charles, donates the site of Tufts College, ii. 466.
Tufts College, ii. 466.
Turner, Rev. Edward, i. 537; an incorporator of Nichols Academy, 413; committee on denominational school, 411; correspondence with Rev. H. Ballou, 261; on Unitarian Universalists, 449; on the manner of Rev. John Murray's preaching, ii. 183; proposes a History of Universalism, 191. See Restorationist Controversy.
Tuttle, Rev. J. H., ii. 454.
Tyler, Rev. John, i. 70, 260, 268; letter to Rev. Noah Parker, 71; sympathy with Rev. John Murray's views, 276.

Underwood, Rev. William, ii. 172.
Unitarian policy, timidity of, i. 451, 453.

Unitarian sect, causes of its existence, i. 453.
Unitarian Universalist Creed, i. 401.
Unitarians, their early attitude towards Universalists, ii. 480.
United Christian Friends, Society of, in New York, i. 468; invite Mr. Murray to be their pastor, ii. 2.
Unity, N. H., school in, ii. 428.
Universal Baptists, the society of, in Philadelphia, i. 255; misfortune to, on the removal of Mr. Winchester, 269.
Universalism, a season of severe opposition to, ii. 232; action taken against, by the Presbyterian Synod and Assembly, i. 101; actively promulgated by Rev. David Evans, 259; advocated by the Rappists, 32; as taught by Caleb Rich, 172; Clemens and Origen, 4; Diodorus, 4; Dr. George De Benneville, 24; Elhanan Winchester, 247; John Murray, 151, 359; Samuel Gorton, 13; Sir Henry Vane, 19; Theodore of Mopsuestia, 4; the Congregationalists, 83; the Dunkers, 35; the Episcopalians, 43; the Gnostics, 4; the Moravians, 42; the Sibylline Oracles, 4; brought to America by the Mystics, 13; condemned by Justinian, 5; in the Augsburg Confession, 8; in the 42 Articles, in 1552, and by the Parliament of 1648, 10, 11; controversies on, in the 17th and 18th centuries, 9; defenders of, at the time of the Reformation, 8; debate on, in McAllister's town, Pa., in 1792, 392; different theories of, as stated by Mr. Murray, 364, 457; earliest notices of, in Christian history, 4; early believers in Gloucester, 141; gains of, in 1791, 348, 451; general histories of, 1; ii. 192, 193; historical sketches of, in State of New York, 160; how the first believers in, were designated, i. 3; legal difficulties of believers in, at Gloucester, Mass., 181; Kingwood, N. J., 395, Maine, ii. 378, New Hampshire, 19, Vermont, 44; preached in Cincinnati, in 1814, 168; Priestley, Dr. Joseph, avows his belief in, i. 473; progress of, in Pennsylvania, in 1774, 28; progress of, in 1792, 382; in 1793, 418; proposed history of, ii. 136, 190; secretly held in Boston, in 1797, i. 501; some of the places where it was believed in 1776, 164; spread of, in the early church, 6; state of, in New England and New York, in 1792, 392; taught in the earliest theological schools, 5; traces of, in the dark ages, 7.
Universalism and Restoration, distinction between, by the Dunkers, i. 38.
"Universalism Vindicated," pamphlet by Mr. Murray, i. 481.
Universalist, the earliest theological meaning of the name, i. 2; denotes a believer in the salvation of all souls, 3; the name designating the earliest organizations in America of believers in the salvation of all souls, ii. 344.
Universalist Association in 1785, call issued for, i. 204; organized at Oxford, Mass., 204; Charter of Compact adopted by, 207; name recommended to the societies by, 206; session of 1787, the last that was held, 269.
Universalist Associations, in California, ii. 366; Connecticut, 190, 367; Georgia, 370; Illinois, 372; Indiana, 374; Iowa, 375; Maine, i. 515; ii. 379, 380; Massachusetts, 381, in Michigan, 385; Missouri, 386; New Hampshire, 387; New York, 106, 167, 389, 390; Ohio, 393, 394; Pennsylvania, 396; Rhode Island, 326, 397; Vermont, 64, 400; Wisconsin, 403; Western Canada, 405.
Universalist Convention in New England, request for the organization of, i. 382; organized in 1793, 418; session of 1794, 431; 1795, 444; 1796, 456; 1797, 480; 1798, 505;

1799, 512; 1800, 535, 541; 1801, ii. 5; 1802, 15; 1803, 40; 1804, 64; adopts the Philadelphia platform of faith and plan of church government, 432; attempted mission fund in, 12, 15; early attitude on the subject of temperance, i. 542; legislates on fellowship and ordination, 536; ministers in the bounds of, in 1800, 542; action on the case of Christopher Erskine, ii. 18–36; action on the Winchester Profession of Belief, 42–64; secretaries of, and of the General Convention, 54 *n.*; treasurers of, and of the General Convention, 13, *n.*; in 1804 becomes "The General Convention of the New England States and Others," 65; sessions of 1805, 81; 1806, 109; 1807, 118; 1808, 120; 1809, 126; 1810, 130; 1811, 145; 1812, 151; 1813, 162; 1814, 167; 1815, 189; 1816, 190; 1817, 199; 1818, 228; 1819, 245; 1820, 252; appoints committees to visit the Associations, 85; appoints committees on denominational school, 411, 412; ordained or installed ministers to report to, 168; in 1832 becomes "The General Convention of Universalists in the United States," 346; development of the polity of, 345–53; its funds, 360; its aid to young men in educating them for the ministry, 361.

Universalist Conventions organized, in Alabama, ii. 365; California, 366; Connecticut, 367; Georgia, 370; Illinois, 371; Indiana, 374; Iowa, 375; Kansas, 376; Kentucky, 376; Maine, 379; Massachusetts, 382; Michigan, 385; Minnesota, 385; Missouri, 386; Mississippi, 386; New Hampshire, 387; New Jersey, 388; New York, 389, 390; North Carolina, 392; Ohio, 394, 395; Oregon, 395; Pennsylvania, 396; Rhode Island, 397; South Carolina, 398; Vermont, 400; Virginia, 401; West Virginia, 402; Wisconsin, 403; Ontario, Canada, 405.

Universalist General Reform Association, ii. 364.

Universalist Historical Society, organization and collections of, ii. 363.

Universalist house of worship in New Hartford, N. Y., the first erected west of New York city, ii. 178.

"Universalist Magazine," published in 1819, ii. 239.

Universalist Mississippi Valley Institute, organization and purpose of, ii. 371.

Universalist Publishing House, ii. 475.

Universalist revival in 1817, ii. 199.

Universalist Sabbath-School Union, ii. 383.

Universalist schools and academies a necessity, ii. 410; sketch of the history of, 410–46.

Universalist Sunday-schools, ii. 407.

Universalist Woman's Aid Association, in Indiana, ii. 374.

Universalist Women's Association of Illinois, ii. 373.

Upson, Rev. Asa, ii. 148.

Upson, Rev. J., organizes the first Universalist society in California, ii. 366.

Van Alstine, Rev. David, ii. 423; in California, 366.

Vandenberg, Rev. Andrew, ii. 221.

Vane, Sir Henry, i. 11, 19.

Vann, Rev. J. S., in Florida, ii. 369.

Vermont, Universalism in, in 1792, i. 395; progress of, ii. 399.

Virginia, Universalism in, i. 46, 289; ii. 400.

Wait, Rev. W. B., and wife, schools kept by, ii. 445.

Walker, Dr. William J., a benefactor of Tufts College, ii. 469.

Wallace, Rev. Jonathan, ii. 194.

Walnut Hill Evangelical Seminary, ii. 449.
Walworth, Rev. H. R., ii. 454.
Ward, Rev. J., in Canada, ii. 404.
Warwick, Mass., Universalists in, adopt Charter of Compact, i. 209; adopt articles of faith, 348; condition of, in 1792, 394; unite with Richmond and Jaffrey, N. H., in forming a general society, 171.
Washington, George, on Christian hope, i. 332; Address of the Philadelphia Convention to, 333; his reply, 334.
Washington, D. C., Universalism in, ii. 369.
Washington Territory, Universalism in, ii. 401.
Waterman, Rufus, one of "The Providence Universalists," i. 212.
Waterville Liberal Institute, origin and career of, ii. 428; Principals of, 429.
Webster, Rev. C. H., ii. 423.
Wells, Mr., on extinction of the early Unitarian movement, i. 451; justifies the timid policy, 451.
West, Rev. C. P., active in the interests of education, ii. 464.
West Virginia, Universalism in, ii. 401.
Westbrook Seminary, origin and career of, ii. 425; Principals of, 427.
Western Association, attempts to publish a quarterly magazine, ii. 130; organization of, 76, 106; boundaries of, 108; organization of the Genesee Branch, 167; sessions of, 1807, 114; 1808, 119; 1809, 125; 1810, 128; 1811, 137; 1812, 150; 1813, 156; 1814, 166; 1815, 170; 1816, 189; 1817, 198; 1818, 218; 1819, 233; 1820, 248.
Western Convention of Universalists, request for organization of, i. 382; organized in 1793, 437; another, ii. 361, 394.
Western Liberal Institute, ii. 436; Principals of, 436.
Western Union Association, efforts of, to establish a denominational school, ii. 424.
Western Union Seminary, account of the origin and career of, ii. 424; Principals of, 425.
Weston, Rev. James P., President of Lombard University, ii. 465. See also, 427, 429, 441.
Wetherill, Samuel, preaches against Mr. Murray's views, i. 331.
Whitaker, Rev. William, ii. 333, 334.
White, Hon. Hugh, ii. 77.
White, Rev. Hugh, i. 400.
White, Jeremy, i. 11.
White, Rev. Nehemiah, ii. 435; President of Lombard University, 465.
Whitestown, N. Y., society organized in, ii. 76; constitution of, 117.
Whiting, Rev. Samuel, i. 104.
Whitnal, Rev. Isaac, ii. 173.
Whitney, Rev. D. S., ii. 333.
Whittemore, Samuel, author of "Answer to an Appeal," i. 188.
Whittemore, Rev. Thomas, D. D., ii. 258; gives an account of Dr. Isaac Davis, i. 165; his history of Universalism, 2; ii. 193; on Rev. David Ballou, 294; on William Pitt Smith, M. D., 272; on Rev. Dr. Strong's work against Universalism, 478. See Restorationist Controversy.
Wilcox, Rev. Oliver, ii. 423.
Williams, Rev. Alonzo, ii. 423.
Williams, Rev. Ebenezer, ii. 393.
Williamson, Rev. I. D., on defects in denominational polity, ii. 351; in Alabama, 365.
Willis, Rev. Lemuel, on Rev. William Farewell, i. 353 *n.*; in Charleston, S. C., ii. 398.
Wilson, Rev. David, in Nova Scotia, ii. 406.
Winchester, Rev. Elhanan, a Baptist preacher, i. 218; at the Association in Oxford, 206; at Hartford, Conn., 462; at the ordination of Rev. Hosea Ballou, 433; correspondence with Dr. Benjamin Rush, 323; goes to England, 269; his learning,

217; his first Universalist sermon, 237; his friends attempt to build a meeting-house in Philadelphia, but fail, and purchase "Mason's Lodge," 254, 256; his theology, 247; how he was brought to the belief of Universalism, 219; incidents in his life, 213; labors in Philadelphia and New York, 447, 461; his last sermon and death, 479; letter to Zephaniah Andrews, 210; letter to Dr. Stillman, 239; makes the acquaintance of Rev. John Murray, 251; moderator of the New England Convention in 1794, 431; monument to, ii. 16; organizes the "Society of Universal Baptists," i. 255; publishes a Hymn-book, 256; prevalence of his views, 381; returns from England, and has great success in preaching, 429; sermon on "The Outcasts Comforted," 238; troubles with the Baptist Church in Philadelphia, 231; visits Dr. George De Benneville, 233; writes against Paine's "Age of Reason," 430.

Winchester, Rev. Moses, i. 252.

"Winchester Profession of Belief, and Plan of the General Association," reasons for adopting, ii. 42–64; original draft of, and changes made in adopting, 48.

Winchester School, The, ii. 445.

Winslow, Rev. Calvin, ii. 129.

Winstanley, Gerard, i. 11.

Wisconsin, Universalism in, ii. 402.

Wisner, Rev. Morgan L., in Michigan, ii. 385.

Woman's Centenary Aid Association, organization and work of, ii. 361; becomes the Woman's Centenary Association, 363; its foreign missionary work, 363.

Woman's Universalist Missionary Society of Massachusetts, ii. 384.

Wood, Rev. Jacob, ii. 189. See Restorationist Controversy.

Woodman, Rev. Jabez, ii. 250.

Wooley, Rev. Miles T., i. 537; ordination of, ii. 5.

Woolf, Father, a Dunker preacher, i. 41.

Worth, Rev. William, i. 311; moderator of the Philadelphia Convention in 1790, 296.

Wright, [Reuz, or Rights], Rev. Matthew, i. 43.

Wright, Rev. Nathaniel, ii. 330; a Sabellian, 334.

Yancey, Rev. Robert, i. 46, 221.

Young, Rev. Joab, i. 352; clerk of the New England Convention, in 1794, i. 431; is appointed missionary, 433.

Young, Joseph, M. D., i. 427.

Young Ladies' Seminary, Cambridge, Mass., ii. 445.

University Press: John Wilson & Son, Cambridge.

Richard Eddy.

Richard Eddy was born in Providence, R.I., June 21 1828, and the life of the family has always been closely identified with the Providence First Church. This was the church of his home, his love; here the influences were stirred and nurtured that led him to the Universalist ministry, and upon this church he always looked as the shrine of home and faith. At the age of 16 years he was apprenticed to the book binding trade in his native city. Here he joined to his native love of books a knowledge of how to arrange, make and adorn the volumes. No doubt this handicraft had a deep influence upon his lifelong intimacy with books.

At the age of 20 years he commenced study for the ministry with Dr. Thomas J. Sawyer at Clinton, N.Y. In those days preaching was one of the first attempts of the theologue, and after three months he preached his first sermon, and two years later, in 1850, was ordained at Frankfort, N.Y. What those two years of tuition involved under the hand of Dr. Sawyer, no student of early or lare years need inquire. Dr. Sawyer was our first Theological School. In this school Richard Eddy was shaped for his life-work.

The long, varied, comprehensive and full life of our friend can only be sketched in a brief tribute.

1. Think of him as a pastor and preacher. He held pastorates at Frankfort, Rome, Buffalo and Canton, N.Y. First and Second Universalist churches in Philadelphia, Pa., Franklin, Gloucester, Melrose add Chatham, Mass., Providence, E. Providence and Georgiaville, R.I. These were real, not nominal, pastorates. He shepherded is flock. His people's interests were his, their hopes and burdens his, and his words and works for them were the Master's. Few men have so strongly won and held the affections of their people, and once a pastor always a pastor. This was undoubtedly due to that sweet, subtle influence of his winning, genuine personality. It was a blessed vision to us young men to see the affection in which he was held by old time parishioners. It must have been balm to his soul. During his Gloucester pastorate occurred the great—and in many ways the greatest—gathering of Universalists in America, the centennial celebration of 1870 in Gloucester. At that time to prepare for such a national convocation called for extraordidary managerial ability, and to Richard Eddy, the Gloucester pastor, the success of that meeting was due in no small degree. It was an achievement

Our friend was not only a conspicuous pastor, but a convincing, winning, moving preacher. He was a gospel convert, a gospel preacher and power. With ample vocabulary, a clear understanding of his theme, a love of humanity, and a heart aflame with zeal, he takes his place with the strong, constructive preachers of our Church. That he was diligent let his record speak: Sermons preached, 6,786; lectures, 2,400; funerals, 2,362; weddings, 375. Then read between the lines the unnumbered and unrecordable ministries.

2 He was a patriot. In the country's day of need he responded for service, and he served. He was chaplain of the 60th N. Y. Volunteer Infantry, and carried the pastoral instinct to the camp or field wherever men needed counsel, physical aid or spiritual comfort. Few positions are more prolific of opportunities to befriend than that of chaplain of an army in action. He established an ideal standard. As an idol of the G. A. R., a promoter of the interests of the Sons of Veterans, and as an eloquent voice and strong support in all patriotic enterprises he has been a marked personality.

3 But Richard Eddy was a reformer. Preeminently in temperance reform he was recognized as an organizer, being head of the Independent Order of Good Templars in Massachusetts for many years. Always eloquent in appeals for total abstinence, he was consistent in conduct. His lectures in this field number nearly 2,000. As author of "Alcohol in History" (prize essay) and "Alchol in Society" (prize essay) he contributed to these phases of the subject a mass of startling facts that have been potent influences in the growing reform.

4 To these already exacting tasks were added the labors of author and editor. His pen has been versatile and prolific. Besides numerous enclyclopedic articles and press contributions, he edited "Universalism" in Vol. X American Church History, was editor of The Universalist Quarterly six years, and of The Universalist Register eighteen years.
years.

5 As the biographer of Thomas J. and Caroline M. Sawyer, Dr. Eddy has come very close to the Universalist heart. This work oould have fallen into no worthier hands. Besides being proudly commanding figures in our denominational life, Dr. and Mrs. Sawyer were lifelong friends of

the biographer, admired by him for their sterling characters and many charms, and wedded to him by bonds of congenial fellowship, mutual esteem and common faith.

The biography is a noble tribute nobly wrought. It sinks the author and magnifies the subjects. It is their word made vocal—their spirits risen.

6. As historian Richard Eddy wrought out his monumental work. He has made us all and the world his debtor. "Universalism in America," by Richard Eddy, is a work of commanding excellence and permanent value. It is a textbook of our denominational history. It is more. It is a history of contemporary religious thought and of progressive liberal ideas. It rescues, classifies, clarifies and frames facts in permanent form and easy of access. In this work he becomes the teacher of the present and the future. It involved thirty years of research, a genius for details, a mastery of system, a large, healthy intellect, a love of his church and its message.

In the same field of history he wrote "Universalism in Gloucester," and the "History of the 60th Regiment N. Y. Volunteer Infantry."

7. Richard Eddy the man was recognized as the power behind all achievement. This glorified his many-handed activity. He was appreciated by his Church and the world. He was called often and continuously to fill exalted positions, such as President of Conventions; for many years Secretary of the Universalist Historical Society, and its President since the death of Dr. Sawyer in 1899. Tufts College honored itself and him by conferring upon him the degree of S. T. D. in 1883.

Here was a man of catholic sympathies, of tender affections, of transparent honesty, a Christian gentleman, a warrior for the truth, a champion of his faith, a man to know and love. His soul was equally at home in the society of youth or age; a sunny spirit, a delightful companion, a saintly and now translated soul.

Dr. Eddy was twice married. His first wife and the mother of his children was Miss Sarah Stoddard of Hudson. His second wife was Mrs. Lucy P. Friend of Gloucester. His surviving family consists of the wife and the five children—Frederick W., journalist, of New York; Martha M. Fuller, Auburndale, Mass.; Richard H., physician, Providence, R. I; Benj. F., Boston School of Mechanic Arts; Mabel S., Bolton.

Funeral services were held at Gloucester Sunday, August 19, from the old First Church. How fitting! The home of Universalist Church work, the field of former labors, the fertile soil from which came much of his historic material, the home of his retirement. The services were conducted by Rev. Dr. W. H. Rider, the pastor, and President F. W. Hamilton of Tufts. F. A. D.

Universalist.

The Universalists are giving much attention to the early history of their faith in this country. Rev. Dr. Sawyer, of Tuft's College, and Rev. R. Eddy, D. D., of Massachusetts, are making special efforts in that direction. The Pennsylvania State Convention has made a move in the work and assigned the duty to Rev. Mr. Shrigley, of this city, whose tastes and inclination have led him to accept the position of State historian for the Universalist Church. Mr. Shrigley has prepared two chapters, which are of more than ordinary interest. The first of these relates to the "Everlasting Gospel," by Paul Siegvolk, published in this city in 1753, being the first book published in this country in defense of the doctrine of the final restoration of all souls. This work is a neatly printed 12mo., of 198 pages, and is said to have been "translated from the German by John S.," probably the son of Christopher Sower, the publisher, as both father and son were known to be favorable to that view of the Divine economy. The original edition of the work was published in German, 1760.

1802 2nd Ed Boston bk

1808 3rd Ed do

" Gloucester book

" N. E Convention bk

1817 N Y book

1819 Kneeland Phil Hy Bk

1818 Gospel Hy Bk. Maxim

1820 Stretton

1821 Ballou & Turner

1822 [illegible] Pt Hy

1823 Xtn Hymns

1837 Ballou 2nd 37 [illegible]

1832 [illegible] S.S. 37 Conference 1755

1839 Thomas Hy of Jesus

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